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common to a number of castes occupying different positions in the hierarchy. For instance, the members of a village community, whatever their caste, have certain interests in common. Similarly, people speaking the same language have a certain solidarity. The Brahmin and the Untouchable speaking the same language have certain cultural forms in common, even though they belong to the extremes of the hierarchy. The structural situation everywhere in India is subject to the pulls exerted by these opposed types of solidarity.

In any large geographical area in India it is usual to find a minority of sub-castes who speak a language different from the one which is locally dominant. Sometimes two or three such minor languages are found in a single area. Migrations from one part of India to another have been extremely common in the past, and this has been specially so within each of the two major geographical areas of India, continental and peninsular India. The immigrant castes usually claim a higher place in the local caste structure than is conceded by the others.

The speakers of the same language, whatever their caste, possess certain cultural forms in common, and when, in the same geographical area, there are castes speaking different languages, each becomes aware of the cultural forms which mark it off from others.

It will be seen that any geographical area in India exhibits enormous structural and cultural complexity. In a tiny province like Coorg, speakers of every Dravidian language, and of Konkaṇi, Marāṭhi, and Hindusthāni, are found.

III

Coorgs constituted the aristocracy under the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, holding important positions in the administration and very nearly monopolizing the army. All the other castes in Coorg, excluding the Brahmin, Kōmṭi (Telugu-speaking trading caste of south India), and Lingāyaṭ acknowledged their dominance by taking over their customs and manners, and in some cases even their speech. It has already been mentioned that high castes like Kannaḍa-speaking Okkaligas and Tuḷu-speaking Gauḍas, both peasants, in north Coorg tried to pass off for Coorgs. In the recent past a few of them, those with a little money, married Coorgs, and this is probably the reason why we find in the north one branch of

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723 military power of Coorgs with their lack of certain rituals and their somewhat catholic dietary. It is interesting to note that Shri N. Chiṇṇappa considers the account of the origin of Coorgs given in the Kāvēri Myth to be a true, historical account. He, however, mentions that the majority of Coorgs regard themselves as Kshatriyas and not as Ugras.[1]

564 Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way
• [177] of life of their own. But they were throughout in contact with Sanskritic Hinduism, and religious movements like Lingāyaṭism affected them considerably.

[162] There are two subdivisions among Coorgs today: the first division is 41,026 strong, while the second contains only 666 individuals, according to the 1941 Census. Members of the latter division are called Amma Koḍagas, or Amma Coorgs, and they are highly Brahminized in their customs and ritual. They are vegetar-
[291] ians and teetotallers, and nowadays they constitute an endogamous
[769] unit. Like the Brahmins they wear the sacred thread and observe annual *shrāddhas* or ancestor-feasts at which only vegetarian food is offered to the dead ancestors.

564 It is said that Amma Coorgs are the descendants of a Coorg man
173 and a Brahmin girl of Wynāḍ, daughter of one Tāyikāṭ Tambiran,
551 who expelled his daughter from his home as she attained puberty before marriage. (Formerly, among Brahmins, it was regarded as both sinful and shameful to have in the house an unmarried girl who had attained puberty.) This girl married a Coorg, and her descendants came to be known as Amma Coorgs (*amma* = mother),
[104] and they observed the customs of their mother. The name of an Amma Coorg man has the suffix '*amma*' even though '*amma*' means 'mother', and is normally a suffix to a woman's name in certain parts of south India. In Coorg, a woman's name has the suffix '*avva*' which is the same as '*amma*', and a man's name has the suffix '*appa*' which means 'father'. It is said that formerly Amma Coorgs, who were concentrated in south Coorg, used to claim kinship with a similar group of people in Wynāḍ.

564 In the last few years of the reign of the last Rāja of Coorg, Amma
173 Coorgs claimed to be 'Kāvēri Brahmins', the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of the sage Agastya, husband of Kāvēri, before the latter flowed away as a river. The disciples twitted the master

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷamé*, pp. 19–20.

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songs it is the woman who takes the initiative in a love affair and seduces the man with whom she falls in love.

The general impression one gets from the folksongs is that women enjoyed much greater freedom in the past than they do today. It is probable that in the last 200 years Coorgs have orientated themselves more and more towards the patrilineal Kannaḍigas and moved away from the matrilineal Nāyars. This was accompanied by denying women active roles at the caste dances and festivals, and the home was seen more and more as their proper sphere of action.

But nowadays, under the influence of Western ideas, the Coorg woman is once again coming to the fore. Education is more widespread among Coorg women than among the women of other castes, including Brahmins. They are nurses, teachers, and doctors, and do not hesitate to live outside Coorg. The economic position of Coorgs and the fact that they marry comparatively late are some of the factors responsible for the greater spread of education among Coorg women. The greater ease with which Coorg women have 'emancipated' themselves is probably because they have not been as long under patriarchal ideas regarding womanhood as their sisters in the eastern part of the Peninsula.

VII

Among Coorgs, as among other Indians, respect has to be shown to elders. When a Coorg meets an elder on a ritual occasion he has to salute the latter by bending the upper half of his body and touching the elder's feet thrice with both hands. After each touch the younger man takes his hands to his forehead, where he folds them together. The elder touches the bent head of the younger man with both hands and then brings them together at the chest or forehead. A woman elder is expected to take only her right hand to the right side of her forehead, but I have seen women acknowledge a salutation in exactly the same manner as men.

When he is saluted an elder usually utters a blessing like 'may you live long', or 'may you live happily'. But sometimes the blessing might be a long one, carrying a prayer to God and the ancestors to grant the younger person longevity, happiness, and 'eleven children, boys as well as girls'.

When two equals meet they salute each other merely by bringing

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periods of time have ritual value while others do not. 'Ritual value' is synonymous with the term 'sacred' in its widest sense, as inclusive of good-sacredness as well as bad-sacredness, auspiciousness as well as inauspiciousness. Certain periods of time are auspicious while others are inauspicious. One occasionally finds in Coorg homes a sheet of cardboard nailed to the wall which mentions the inauspicious periods in each day of the week. Important work is not begun during an inauspicious period.

Adult Coorgs are usually able to read the *panchānga* which may be described as the ritual calendar of the Hindus. *Panchāngas* are nowadays printed and sold in towns, and it is customary for a Coorg house to have a *panchānga*. It is frequently referred to as it gives the auspicious and inauspicious periods in each day, the days on which one may have one's face shaved, the days on which one may travel in a particular direction, when an eclipse will occur, and so on.

Hindu astrology is based on the idea of *karma* and touches Hindu theological beliefs at every point; and, strange as it may seem to Westerners, astrology involves a knowledge of astronomy. Events like an eclipse, and the day and period of time when the sun passes from one zodiacal sign to another are significant for ritual purposes, and they are all mentioned in the *panchānga*.

Astrology may be regarded as a Sanskritizing agent, and the more a tribe, local group, or caste resorts to astrology the more does its beliefs become Sanskritized. Sanskritic Hinduism is Hinduism which transcends provincial barriers and is common to the whole of India.

IV

Mangala has not only to be performed on an auspicious day, but also in an auspicious place: a Coorg likes to have it performed in his ancestral house which he regards as sacred and for which he has a strong attachment. Only certain high castes like the Brahmins, Okkaligas, and Gauḍas may enter all parts of the ancestral house. Mēdas and Poleyas, on the other hand, have to stop at the paved yard in front of the house. Castes like the smiths (Airis), washermen (Maḍivāḷa), and Baṇṇas may come to all parts of the house except the kitchen, central hall, and south-western room. If, however, they have to come in to perform their duties on certain

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the white original: it is of wool, has short sleeves, and a V-shaped neck permitting the display of a collar and tie. The white gown is ritually superior to the black gown.

Usually the gown is secured at the waist by a tasselled red silk sash called *chēlé*, but when the subject is sitting for the shaving rite, a red cotton scarf is used instead of the silk sash.

The subject salutes the lamp in the south-western room, the south-western pillar, and the wall-lamp before sitting on the tripod stool placed on a mat. Near the mat is a dining-dish (*taḷi*) containing milk, and a harvest-basket containing some rice, a coconut, a bunch of plantains, and betel leaves and areca-nut.

Water may not be used for shaving on this occasion. Milk is used instead. The shavings are put into the dining-dish, and later the barber empties the dish at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

A distinctive form of shaving prevails at marriage, and perhaps at subsequent *mangalas* (it does not, however, prevail at the ear-boring *mangala*). The front of the head is shaved in such a manner that it leaves two 'horns' above the temples, formed by the shaved patches. This mode of shaving is called '*kombanjavara*' which means 'horn shave'.

The harvest-basket containing rice, plantains, and the bell-metal dining-dish, and the scarf at the subject's waist, are given as gifts to the barber.

Two other men get themselves shaved after the subject. All over south India it is common at a wedding for two or four companions of the subject to 'accompany' him (or her) in certain rites. For instance, two men are given a bath along with the groom, and two girls are given a bath along with the bride.

In the south-western parts of Coorg the bride undergoes, before *mūrta*, a rite called '*kūrangodi muripa*', which is analogous to shaving. The bride's brother's wife removes from the bride's head a thin wisp of hair, and pares her nails. (The barber normally pares the nails after shaving a man.) These are put into a dining-dish containing milk. Later, the dining-dish is emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

Coorgs are generally more Westernized in their ways than others in Coorg, and there are more cropped heads among them than among others. But formerly they, like other Hindus, had their entire heads shaved but for a tuft of hair at the crown. Tufts started giving place to cropped heads towards the close of the last

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century. The exclusive shaving of the face as distinct from the shaving of the face along with the head also came into vogue at the same time, and moustaches, which were only removed at the death of a very close relative, began to disappear entirely.

Marriage conferred on a man the right to have his head shaved periodically, and a bachelor was not entitled to it unless he had undergone the ear-boring *mangala*. The latter ritual conferred social adulthood on a male: in the folksong about the hero Kaiyandira Appayya it is seen that he successfully claims to be an adult on the strength of the fact that his friends, all boys tending cattle, performed this ritual for him in the jungle.

The ear-boring *mangala* has now entirely disappeared, and I learn that even fifty years ago it was only performed very rarely, and that, too, as a votive offering to a deity. But though the ritual had disappeared the concepts associated with it continued to exist for some time afterwards. It was considered improper for an adult to be without ear-rings, and such men were not admitted to the temple of Iggutappa in Nālknāḍ. If a Coorg died without his ears being bored, the corpse's ears were pierced before burial.

The ear-boring *mangala* was the first of several *mangalas* for a male, and the head was shaved for the first time on this occasion. The performance of this *mangala* conferred certain privileges on the individual in question, one of which being that he could have his face shaved periodically by a barber.

At the various *mangalas* shaving is a preparatory ritual act. On these occasions it is followed by a bath and by the wearing of ritually pure robes. These preliminary rites make the subject pure, and while in this condition he performs certain rites, or others perform certain rites towards him.

The form of shaving prevalent normally is different from that prevalent at mourning. Normally the tuft at the crown and the moustache have to be left untouched at shaving, while at mourning it is obligatory, at any rate for the chief male mourners, to have their heads and faces shaved entirely. Other close relatives who are junior to the dead person are recommended to follow the example of the chief mourners, but it does not seem to be obligatory for them. The mourners get themselves shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse; and this shave marks the beginning of ritual mourning. The mourners may not have another shave while ritual mourning lasts. In the case of the eldest son and

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couḷu or salt-impregnated earth[1] has been dissolved. With the aid of a few mango leaves he sprinkles the solution all over the house and this act rids the house of its impurity and restores it to normal ritual status. Nowadays, however, Coorgs increasingly call on a Brahmin to purify the house on the twelfth day.

It is probable the washerman was employed as purifier because of his occupation. But such a duty is not consistent with the position he normally occupies in the caste hierarchy. For instance, he is prohibited from entering the more sacred parts of an ancestral house, like the kitchen and central hall, as he defiles them by his presence. If, however, he has to enter them in the exercise of his duties—at marriage he covers the ceiling of the central hall with clean white sheets—they are purified subsequently. But no such inconsistency exists in the case of the Brahmin, and the increasing tendency to employ him is part of the general process of Sanskritization of Coorg customs.

VIII

After having been given a bath by three married women, the groom is helped into his ritual robes and ornaments by the best man. He has to wear a white cotton gown for the *mūrta*, and this is worn in such a way that the right side comes over the left side. A red silk sash secures the gown at the waist. The ornamental Coorg knife, *piché katti*, is tucked into the sash in front, and the broad Coorg sword, *oḍi katti*, hangs from its clasp at the groom's back. The clasp is fixed to a chain which is tied round the groom's waist. The groom also wears a number of ornaments.

The groom wears the Coorg turban (*pāni maṇḍé tuṇi*) which is flat at the top and also covers the back of the head. He may not wear any sandals, however, as leather defiles. He carries in his hand a staff (*gejjé taṇḍ*) with small bells tied to it near the top.

The bride wears a uniform of red silk: a red silk *sari*, a red silk full-sleeved Coorg blouse (*kaḷa kupya*), and a red silk scarf which is tied round her head. She wears bangles, necklaces, ear-rings, and also ornaments on her ankles, feet, and toes.

The best man and matron of honour hold a white cloth umbrella over the groom and bride respectively.[2]

[1] The washerman uses *couḷu* for washing clothes.

[2] Round about Mercara the bride and groom both wear a red silk veil during *mūrta*. In the southernmost part of Coorg, however, the veil is not worn by

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groom's *okka* to collect. The water in the well is worshipped before taking a vesselful into the kitchen. (It was seen earlier that the confined woman similarly worshipped the well before resuming her contact with it after an absence of several months.)

At night, on the same day, the bride is given a new name by the women members of the groom's *okka*. This may be the name of a dead woman of the groom's *okka*. Even when the bride is not given a totally new name, some change is effected in her old name.[1] If the bride is divorced later, or if she becomes a widow and wishes to return to her natal house, at the ceremony in which her connexion with her conjugal *okka* is severed, the family friend of her natal *okka* refers to her by the name given to her in her natal house, while the family friend of the groom's *okka* refers to her by the name given to her at marriage. Thus the giving of a new name marks a change in the bride's social personality: she loses her membership of her natal *okka* and becomes a member of the groom's *okka*.

Soon after the bride has carried water from the domestic well into the kitchen, the groom's mother gives her a cup of milk to drink, or a dish of rice and milk sweetened with sugar. In some parts of Coorg she also combs the daughter-in-law's hair on this occasion.

In the patrilocal *okka* the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is very intimate and important. One might say that in the first few years of marriage it is even more important than the husband-wife relationship. The fact of social segregation of the sexes operates against the young husband and wife spending any considerable time together before bedtime. Again, it is not thought proper for the young husband and wife to spend too much time in each other's company. Such a couple will be 'talked about'. A young man must attend to his work, must not encourage his wife to be indifferent to her share of domestic work, and must be respectful to his elders. All this means that he does not get a real chance to be with her till he retires to bed at night.

The daughter-in-law must try and please her parents-in-law: this is one of the main aims of her life. She must do her share of the

[1] *Akkamma* might be changed, for instance, into *Akkavva*. 'Amma' indicates girlhood while 'Avva' indicates womanhood. Some westernized Coorgs do not change names at marriage. The names of dead relatives are not very popular nowadays as they are considered old fashioned.

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hand, cobra-worship has a different orientation. In each village or locality, a platform is built round a peepul-tree (*ficus religiosa*) and on this platform are kept sculptured images of single snakes, or of two intertwined snakes. Such a platform is worshipped by all the people in the locality.

Cobra-worship among Coorgs has the same orientation it has in Malabar but for one important difference: in Malabar the deity Subramaṇya does not seem to be connected with cobras, whereas everywhere else in south India cobras are identified with Subramaṇya, the second son of Shiva. Shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya, some of them well-known centres of pilgrimage, are commonly found in south India.

The identification of cobras with Subramaṇya demonstrates the way in which Sanskritic Hinduism operates. The worship of cobras is very popular among all Hindus, and the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya provides a door for the entry of Sanskritic Hinduism. People who until then had only been worshipping cobras came to know about Subramaṇya, the son of Shiva. They also learn of the story of Subramaṇya's birth, which is a tiny slice of Hindu mythology; and of Shiva, his relation to other gods like Vishṇu and Brahma, and so on. Pilgrimages to shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya became popular, and these shrines again are a source for the further spread of Sanskritic Hinduism. There are usually myths about these shrines and each such myth tells the pilgrim a little more about Sanskritic Hinduism.

Stones representing Pūda and Guḷika are frequently found in the compound of a Coorg's house. Pūda is the Tamil corruption of the Sanskritic *bhūta*, which means a spirit. Pūda is frequently one of the deities in a village temple.

Guḷika in the Tamil country is the name of one of the eight serpents supporting the earth in Hindu mythology. In Malabar and Coorg, however, he is better known as the son of Saturn. He is also referred to as Māndi.

Guḷika is associated with death: a man is supposed to see Guḷika just before dying. Horoscopes drawn up in Malabar and Coorg show the position of Guḷika, and this is said to indicate when the native is going to die. When a number of deaths take place in a Coorg's house it is customary to plant a stone called Mrityu Guḷika (death Guḷika). This is believed to put an end to the deaths.

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historical records. Contradictions occur quite frequently in them. And it is also clear that they are Coorg attempts at 'explaining' the fact of the existence of a number of deities in the villages with which they deal. These various deities and their festivals are brought into relation with each other, and one of the deities made out to be the leader of the rest. In another song this leadership might be claimed for a different deity in a different village.

It is clear from these songs that not only do Coorg, Malabar, and South Canara share certain common cultural and ritual forms, but that some of these have come from Malabar and South Canara into Coorg. The fact that Tuḷu-speaking Brahmins from South Canara are priests at very many temples in Coorg, and that Coorgs had (and have) considerable respect for them, helped the spread of Tuḷu and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. Similarly, the Kaṇiya (astrologer) and Baṇṇa and Paṇika were responsible for the spread of Malayāḷam and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. This does not mean that Malayāḷam and Tuḷu areas do not have some cultural forms in common. Nor does it mean that the cultural and ritual forms found among Coorgs should always, or even in the majority of cases, be attributed to diffusion from without.

Formerly, Coorgs used to go to Malabar to learn medicine and magic, and such Coorgs, on their return, seem to have exercised considerable influence and power over their countrymen. The ancestor of the Ajjikuṭṭira *okka*, Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), and Chendappanḍa Kungu are all reputed to have learnt magic and medicine in Malabar, and after their death they became culture-heroes. It should be remembered in this connexion that formerly a few Coorgs from every village in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their rice in exchange for goods which they wanted. These trade expeditions also resulted in the spread of cultural forms from one area to another.

A deity is commonly known by reference to the village in which he has a shrine. For instance, Pannangālatammé is the 'Mother of the village Pannangāla', Pālūrappa is the 'Father of the village Pālūr', Tumbémalédēra is the 'Lord of the Tumbé hill', and so on. Even where a deity is referred to by his or her name, a prefix is usually added stating to which village the particular deity belongs: for instance, Povvedi of Ballatnāḍ is usually referred to as Ballatnāḍ Povvedi, Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda is referred to as Kundat Bhadrakāḷi,

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the pot at the top. His followers woke up before he had climbed down and demanded an explanation from him. Kētrappa (i.e. Ayyaṇṇa) replied that until then he was only receiving sandalwood paste and flowers,[1] but from then on he would receive instead 'blue-bubble toddy and crowing cocks'.

Deities have a tendency to adopt the customs of their devotees. It is natural then for the deity from Malabar to switch over to the Coorg's diet on reaching Bēngūr. But this diet is not the diet of the Brahmins. Coorgs explain the dietetic preference of their deities by saying that they 'lost their caste': a certain ambivalence can be detected in this attitude, an attitude which presumably prevails towards their own diet. They like non-vegetarian food and liquor, but at the same time consider vegetarianism as more ethical.

[1] Brahmin priests in Coorg, Malabar, and South Canara use sandalwood paste and flowers, among other things, for the worship of deities.

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increases. Conversely, as the area increases, the common forms decrease.

'Spread' might vary for different castes in the same village or town: Brahmins everywhere have much Sanskritic ritual in common, and this we call 'horizontal spread'. A linguistic area is a culturally homogeneous area, relatively speaking, and the Brahmins in any linguistic area share some cultural and ritual forms with all the castes, including the lowest, in that area. This type of spread, common to all the castes in an area, has been termed 'vertical spread'.

It is essential to distinguish here between the possession of common ritual and cultural forms, and of common deities and other objects of worship. The latter is more directly productive of solidarity than the former. The possession of common cultural and ritual forms is also a factor making for solidarity, but not as directly as the possession of common deities. It is possible to imagine situations in which the strength of the latter bond might result in a denial of the former. Members of two different religions living in the same area sharing the same language and other cultural and ritual forms might be involved in a mutually destructive conflict.

All-India Hinduism, as mentioned earlier, is chiefly Sanskritic and it spreads in two ways: by the extension of Sanskritic deities and ritual forms to an outlying group, as well as by the greater Sanskritization of the ritual and beliefs of groups inside Hinduism. Both these processes are at work, and the first results in Sanskritic deities assuming different forms in their travels all over India, while the second results in local deities assuming Sanskritic labels and forms. The Vēdic deity Kshētrapāla becomes Kētrappa in Coorg, while the local cobra-deity becomes identified with Subramaṇya, the warrior-son of Shiva.

All-India Hinduism possesses certain features which make easy the absorption of local elements. The worship of the river Ganges which is one of the features of Sanskritic Hinduism makes easy the absorption of river-worship in every part of India, including the worship of the River Kāvēri which rises in, and flows through, Coorg. The Kāvēri is sacred to Hindus all along its course from the source to the estuary. Temples are built along its course, and especially where other rivers join it, and on islands formed by the river. Bathing in rivers is productive of spiritual merit (*puṇya*) and

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destructive of sin (*pāpa*). Bathing in the Kāvēri on certain days such as the first of Libra and Shivarātri is specially productive of *puṇya*.

The Kāvēri is called '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or 'southern Ganges', and the Kāvēri myth (see Appendix) tells us that waters of the Ganges and other sacred rivers and seas are present in the source of the river on the first of Libra at the moment of the river's birth. The faithful believe that there is an underground passage connecting the source of the river with the Ganges at Benares. Pilgrims to the Tala Kāvēri, like pilgrims to Benares, return with the water of the sacred river in sealed copper pots. This water is used for ritual purification and drinking on certain days. Coorg pilgrims sprinkle the holy water on members of their *okka*, and on the house, granary, and cattle.

Offerings of balls of rice-flour are made to dead relatives on the banks of the Kāvēri; and the ends of the garments of the husband and wife are tied together while bathing in the river and in the larger of the two springs of Tala Kāvēri. Both these concepts are common to Hindus all over India.

The Kāvēri Myth, whose authorship appears to be Brahminical, has the Ganges Myth for its model. As is well known, the Ganges meets the Jumna at Allahabād, and to this, Hindu mythology adds a third river, the Saraswati, which is said to flow underground and join unseen the first two rivers. The confluence of the Ganges, Jumna, and the mythical Saraswati is called '*triveṇi sangama*' or 'union of three rivers'.

At Bhāgamaṇḍla, about three miles from the source of the Kāvēri, it meets the Kanaké. But to this the Kāvēri Myth adds a third river, the Sujyoti, which is said to flow underground and join the first two.

There is a myth about practically every river in India, and in every one of these myths some Sanskritic deities, and sages and characters from the epics and the *purāṇas*, take part. Each myth in time becomes a part of the vast corpus of Hindu mythology. Each myth makes sacred certain features of local geography by associating deities, and characters from the epics and *purāṇas*, with them. The myths abound in inconsistencies which, however, do not bother the bulk of the Hindus.

On certain occasions Coorg women are required to worship the domestic well, and this is referred to as '*ganga pūja*'. A similar

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authors of the Myth saw an inconsistency between Coorg dietary, plus their failure to resort to Vēdic ritual on certain occasions of life, and their high economic position and the profession of arms. The last two factors favoured their being considered Kshatriyas, while the first two factors did not. The situation was resolved ingeniously by their being considered the descendants of an inter-caste marriage.

Educated Coorgs are, however, certain that they are Kshatriyas. In 1902, Shri K. Appayya, a Coorg doctor in the employment of the Mysore Palace, wrote a book on Coorg customs in Kannaḍa, entitled *Koḍagara Kulāchārādi Tatvōjjivini*, and in this book he tried to derive every Coorg custom from the customs of the Vēdic Kshatriyas. This tendency is a common one: educated Coorgs regard themselves as Indo-Aryans, descendants of the original Indo-Aryan immigrants into India.

IV

Sanskritic Hinduism has a vast mythology. There are the *itihāsas* which consist of the epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. There are also the *purāṇas* which 'celebrate the powers and works of positive gods and represent a later and more extravagant form of Hinduism, of which they are in fact the Scriptures. The *purāṇas* are 18 in number, and in addition to these there are 18 *upa-purāṇas* or subordinate works . . . . None of them is devoted exclusively to one god, but Vishṇu and his incarnations fill the largest space.'[1]

The *purāṇas* are religious stories in which figure deities, and many semi-divine characters, and the public reading of the *purāṇas* and epics is even now popular. The *purāṇas* have played a great part in the spread of Hinduism as ordinary people became familiar with deities and ideas of Sanskritic Hinduism through them. Even more important is the fact that the *purāṇas* facilitated the absorption of local myths and legends. (The Kāvēri Myth is part of the Skānda Purāṇa.) The *purāṇas* have been continually expanding, absorbing local myths and legends, and also weaving myths round great historical figures and events. Another importance of the *purāṇas* is that they bring purely local myths into the main stream and thus charge them with All-India significance. Thus, through the *purāṇas*, a local community becomes acquainted with

[1] J. Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary*. Kegan Paul, 1914, pp. 255–7.

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the mythology of All-India Hinduism, and also its myths and legends are Sanskritized and made the property of Hindus all over India. Thus the Kāvēri Purāṇa becomes a part of the mythology of All-India Hinduism.

The epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābārata, too, play an important part in the spread of Hinduism. The existence of 'Bhīma's pebble' near the source of Kāvēri has been mentioned earlier.[1] The Lakshmaṇatīrtha river which rises in the plateau of Brahmagiri in the extreme south of the province is named after Lakshmaṇa, brother of the hero of the older epic, Rāmāyaṇa. It is said that Rāma and Lakshmaṇa passed through Coorg in the course of their wanderings. Lakshmaṇa, the younger brother, whose obedience to Rāma is proverbial, and who is held up as a model for all younger brothers, disobeyed Rāma as soon as he (Lakshmaṇa) left Coorg and entered Malabar. He realized the enormity of his sin when he returned to Coorg and tried to atone for it by jumping into a fire which he made by shooting an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks. Rāma at once created a river to save his brother. This river he called Lakshmaṇatīrtha and it joins the Kāvēri in Mysore State. Rāma established a *linga* (symbol of Shiva or Īshwara) at the spot where Lakshmaṇa tried to commit suicide. The temple built there is called the Rāmēshwara temple (Īshwara established by Rāma), and it is probable that this temple is an imitation of the famous temple of Rāmēshwara, in the extreme south-eastern corner of India. Coorgs and others go on pilgrimage to the temple at Irpu during Shivārātri, an All-India festival in honour of Shiva.

Mountains, rivers, lakes, and trees become associated with characters and incidents in the epics and *purāṇas*. Such local myths are found in every part of India: Rāma built a temple here, Sīta bathed in this river near that rock, Shiva and Pārvati live in Kailāsa in the Himālayas, Agastya the sage meditated on top of that mountain, and so on. One's country becomes the home of one's gods. Patriotism acquires a religious quality.

Certain restrictions observed by Coorgs in common with other Hindus serve to mark them off from members of other religions. Occasionally these restrictions refer to certain incidents and characters in popular Hindu mythology. For instance, Coorg children are told to wash their feet and hands thoroughly before coming into the house from the street. The story of King Naḷa is told them as a warning: Naḷa one day left an unwashed spot on his

[1] [CP. CAT. 116, p. 216 -- ANALYST]

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ankle and this enabled Saturn to possess him. Subsequently Naḷa lost his throne, was separated from his beloved wife, became deformed owing to serpent-bite, and finally ended up as cook to a king.

It is said in Coorg that Saturn jumped on Naḷa while the latter was standing under a *tāṇḍi* tree. Coorgs usually utter Naḷa's name when they have to pass under a *tāṇḍi* tree, and this is said to have the effect of warding off Saturn.

The above restrictions make the story of Naḷa, which is known to all Hindus, more immediate to Coorgs. The observance of common restrictions frequently marks off one community from another. Such observance can become a symbol of the community's solidarity and identity.

Coorgs, like other Hindus, regard the cow as sacred, and are opposed to killing it. They also abstain from eating beef. The cow has recently figured prominently in Hindu-Muslim relations and has come to be a symbol for Hindu solidarity and identity. Orthodox Hindu opinion regards the killing of cattle with abhorrence, even though the refusal to kill the vast number of useless cattle which exist in India today is detrimental to the economy of the nation.

Reverence for the cow unites Coorgs with other Hindus. It marks both off from other communities living in India.

Certain Sanskritic theological ideas have profoundly affected the lives of Coorgs. Ideas about *karma* and *dharma* are widespread among Coorgs, not only amongst the educated but also amongst the uneducated peasantry. The Coorg funeral song abounds in Sanskritic theological ideas: a man dies 'when the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa is finished'. After death, a bad man goes to hell (*naraka*) and a good man to heaven (*swarga*). A man is continually reborn till he attains salvation (*mōkshu*). The surviving relatives pray that the dead man may not be reborn either as man or beast, because being implies suffering. They pray that he may go to heaven and not return to earth any more.

V

Sanskritic Hinduism has a plasticity which enables it to absorb local religious phenomena. Sanskritic deities frequently undergo changes in the process of being localized. An example will make

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clear what is meant. The deity Kētrappa of Bēngūr is identified 776
by knowledgeable Coorgs and others with the Vēdic deity Kshētra- 177
pāla (protector of the field). Whether there are any justifiable grounds for identifying Kētrappa and Kshētrapāla is a minor matter. What is of importance is that the two deities are so identified. Such an identification of a local deity with an All-India, Sanskritic deity, is very common.

In the Vēdas, Kshētrapāla is a deity presiding over every field, and he is invoked to grant cattle and horses, and to fill heaven and earth and plants and waters with sweetness. People pray to him for prosperity and wish to have him as a neighbour. An ox is sacrificed to him.[1]

In the course of 2,500 years Kshētrapāla has travelled to every part of India, and he has different attributes in different parts of the country. In Bengal he even changes his sex: he becomes Kshētrādēvi, or the 'goddess presiding over fields', and is regarded as a manifestation of Lakshmi, the wife of Vishṇu. As the goddess presiding over fields she ensures a good harvest.[2]

It is not necessary to give here an account of the transformations undergone by Kshētrapāla in the various parts of India. It is sufficient to note that in Coorg he loses all touch with the land. He is referred to as Kētrappa; '*appa*', which means 'father', being a common suffix to the names of gods all over south India, just as '*amma*' or 'mother' is a common suffix for goddesses. In Coorg, Kētrappa takes to a diet of 'blue-bubble toddy and crowing cocks'. People explain this by saying that he 'lost his caste' while travelling from Malabar to Coorg. The Brahmin priest of the Kaḍupālappa temple does not act as a priest to a deity who has 'lost his caste'.

Ayyappa is a Sanskritic deity who is very popular with Coorgs and it is clear that his character has changed in the process of becoming acceptable to his worshippers. In Sanskritic mythology he is Shasta, the son of Shiva and Mōhini (feminine form temporarily assumed by Vishṇu). Shasta is also referred to as Hariharaputra, or the son of Shiva and Vishṇu, and he is a very popular deity all along the Malabar coast.

[1] Macdonnell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. i, p. 211; *Vedic Mythology*, Macdonnell, p. 138; W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. ii, p. 227. The absolute prohibition on the killing of a cow or ox is a post-Vēdic development.

[2] C. Chakravarti, 'The Saivite Deity Ksetrapala', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. ix, 1933, p. 237.

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In Coorg, Shasta is referred to as Ayyappa, or Sārtāvu, and he inhabits the jungles in which he wanders at night with his favourite pack of dogs. At night, in the jungle, he can be heard whistling to his pack. Votive offerings of representations of dogs and bows and arrows are made to his shrines. Some jungles are reserved for Ayyappa exclusively, and nobody may hunt or cut down trees there. Coorgs do not hunt on Wednesdays and Saturdays because Ayyappa hunts on those days. Formerly, liquor and fowl were offered to him by Coorgs after a successful hunt. At some Ayyappa shrines non-vegetarian offerings are made, whereas at others only vegetarian offerings are made. Brahmins are usually priests at the latter shrines.

Coorgs are fond of hunting, and every ancestral house has a pack of dogs which accompany their master during hunting. Ayyappa is extremely popular with Coorgs as the deity presiding over hunting, and very many Coorgs are named after him. His Sanskritic ancestry is not, however, recalled frequently.

Another Sanskritic deity who has undergone modification in the process of becoming acceptable to his devotees is Subramaṇya, who is, in Sanskritic mythology, Skanda, the warrior-son of Shiva. But, as we have earlier mentioned, in Coorg and in the Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, and Telugu countries, Subramaṇya is identified with the cobra which is regarded by orthodox Hindus as a deity. Ant-hills inhabited by cobras are worshipped at Subramaṇya's festival.

The absorption of local cults, rites, and beliefs colours everywhere Sanskritic Hinduism, which varies, in certain particulars, from one local area to another. The initial synthesis usually makes easier the later complete absorption of the local phenomenon in Sanskritic Hinduism.

In this connexion it is instructive to consider the attitude of the Brahmin, the representative of Sanskritic Hinduism, to the village-deities. His attitude is not something fixed and unalterable. It varies from region to region, village to village, and, frequently enough, from deity to deity in the same village, but when we consider a number of instances his varying attitudes fall into a pattern.

It was remarked earlier that the Brahmin priest of the Kaḍupālappa (Krishṇa as churning buttermilk) temple does not have any duties at the Kētrappa temple. But such complete non-co-operation

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with a village-deity (we are not thinking of deities of the Poleyas here) is comparatively rare.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi shrine a Brahmin normally acts as priest, and offerings of fruit and flowers are the rule except on one day in the year when animals are sacrificed outside the Bhadrakāḷi shrine, when the Brahmin priest has left, locking the door of the shrine after him. The Brahmin re-enters the temple next morning only after the front of the shrine has been thoroughly cleaned. He subsequently performs two purificatory rites in order to restore the temple to its normal ritual status.

The Brahmin priest is more co-operative at the festival of the Bhagavati temple at Armēri. In addition to performing certain ritual at the festival, he acts as oracle, a role usually reserved in Coorg for a member of a non-Brahmin caste.

The Rāmēshwara temple at Irpu and the Tala Kāvēri shrine are instances of almost complete Sanskritization. They are among the strongholds of Sanskritic Hinduism in Coorg and act as centres for its spread.

It is not always the Brahmin priest who is the agent of Sanskritic Hinduism. In every part of the Kannaḍa country, and in Coorg, the Lingāyaṭ sect, consisting exclusively of non-Brahmins, have exercised in the past a Sanskritizing influence. Lingāyaṭ ritual is Sanskritic (though not Vēdic), and the Lingāyaṭ Rājas of Coorg have been responsible for the Sanskritization of the customs, manners, and rites of Coorgs. Customs like marking the forehead every morning with three stripes of sacred ashes (*vibhūti*), celebrating the festival of Shivarātri, and erecting tombstones, surmounted by the figure of the Nandi Bull, over the graves of important persons reveal Lingāyaṭ influence. Lingāyaṭism had its origin in the Kannaḍa country, and it was—and is—a predominantly Kannaḍa sect, and the Lingāyaṭs transmitted to Coorgs some purely Kannaḍa customs like Ugādi (lunar New Year).

As mentioned earlier, Lingāyaṭism made headway amongst Coorgs more easily because it was the religion of the rulers. Coorgs holding important posts in the service of the Rājas took over some of the customs and rites of their masters, and this had a chain reaction, which is natural in a highly stratified society.

The Brahmin too has been influenced by non-Sanskritic modes of worship, and impressed with the power of the village-deities. In south India it is common to find Brahmins making votive

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offerings of flowers and fruit and, very rarely, through a non-Brahmin friend, of an animal to the village-deities like Māri during an epidemic of smallpox or plague or cholera. It is wrong to assume, as some do, that in the contact between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Brahmins have always influenced non-Brahmins, while they themselves have remained uninfluenced.

VI

The presence, within Sanskritic Hinduism, of a vast and ever-growing mythology, the worship of trees, rivers, and mountains, and the association of deities and epic heroes with local spots everywhere in India, makes easy the absorption of non-Sanskritic cults and deities. The caste hierarchy plays no small part in the spread of Sanskritization: not only do outlying communities signalize their entry into the Hindu fold by becoming a caste, but the existence of a sharply structured hierarchy which also permits groups to move up the social ladder acts as a powerful inducement for the lower castes to borrow the customs and habits of the top-most castes. The adoption of vegetarianism, teetotalism, and Sanskritization enables a low caste to rise in status in course of time.

The pantheistic bias in Hinduism also contributes to the Sanskritization of the deities and beliefs of low castes and outlying communities. The doctrine that everything in the universe is animated by God, and that all the various deities are only forms assumed by the same Brahma, makes the process of absorption easier. The village-deity who wants the sacrifice of animals and toddy is also one of the myriad manifestations of the formless Brahma whom the philosopher contemplates. The gods of the lower castes are not denied, but affirmed, and affirmed in such a way that their subsequent Sanskritization is rendered easier.

Another point that needs to be remembered is that the presence of Sanskritized local cults and village-deities in Hinduism makes easier the further absorption of local phenomena. Sanskritic Hinduism may be thought of as consisting of several layers, and the similarity of the lower layers to local cults and village-deities everywhere enables the latter to be absorbed. Once inside Sanskritic Hinduism the local rites and beliefs undergo Sanskritization rapidly and in a thoroughgoing manner.

The spread of Sanskritization being a matter of spontaneous

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The spread of Sanskritization being a matter of spontaneous growth produces certain inconsistencies. For instance, the main body of Coorgs propitiate their dead ancestors by offering meat and liquor with the Baṇṇa acting as oracle, as well as by offering balls of rice-flour under the guidance of a Brahmin priest. Amma Coorgs, a Sanskritized division of Coorgs, make the inconsistency in the customs of the main body of Coorgs all the more glaring by observing annual *shrāddhas* (propitiation of ancestors with balls of rice using Sanskrit *mantras*) after the manner of Brahmins, and by completely eschewing the other mode of propitiation.

Many village-deities who are made out to be forms of Mahādēva (or Shiva), and goddesses who are made out to be Povvedi (i.e. Bhagavati, wife of Shiva), are offered meat and toddy. Side by side with these deities, Coorgs offer worship at the temples of Tala Kāvēri, Rāmēshwara in Irpu, and Omkārēshwara in Mercara, where the priests are Brahmins and Sanskrit *mantras* are used, and where only offerings of fruit and flowers are permitted.

Inconsistencies are also seen on the plane of belief. It has been mentioned earlier that the Coorg funeral song says that the man died because the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa was finished; and the survivors pray God not to cause the dead man to be reborn as living is synonymous with suffering. These ideas are entirely consistent with Sanskritic theology. But at another place in the funeral song the mourner says, 'Nārāyaṇa's thieving horde (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) came to kill you. Had I known it, I would have hacked the horde to pieces.' This is entirely consistent with the martial idiom of Coorgs, but inconsistent with the ideas of Sanskritic theology mentioned earlier.

As a rule, educated Coorgs turn more and more to Sanskritic deities, rites, and beliefs. The Rāmakrishṇa Mission is active in Coorg, and in recent years it has been responsible for carrying the message of philosophical Hinduism to Coorgs. In the last thirty years four Coorgs have become *sanyasis*, dedicating their lives to prayer and meditation and the active service of their fellow men. One of these *sanyasis* has a hermitage (*āshrama*) called appropriately *Kāvēri Āshrama*.

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a festival in your honour every year on the first of Aries. They will perform a dance, and offer you fowls. You possess them, and grant children to the childless.' The sister was inconsolable, and said that she could not bear the smell of Poleyas. But the eldest brother was adamant, and the reluctant sister closed both her eyes and assuming the form of a crane flew away to Pannangāla. In the latter village she possessed the Poleya servant of the Kartanḍa *okka* who tried to catch the crane. This deity is now known as Pannangālatammé (*ammé* means 'mother').

The eldest of the three brothers settled down on a mountain near the Pāḍitora Pass, and he is known as Iggutappa. It is said that on the first of Aries, when the festival of Pannangālatammé is being observed, Iggutappa's hill is covered with clouds, and it rains a little on the hill. Iggutappa, it is said, is very sorry for his poor sister who was forced to become a deity of the Poleyas, and he sheds tears for her fate. (Iggutappa is identified by educated Coorgs with Subramaṇya.)

The elder of the two remaining brothers settled down in Pālūr and is known as Pālūrappa. He is identified with Vishṇu. The last of the brothers settled down in the southern frontier of Coorg in Tirnelli and he is known as Tirnelli Pemmayya. He guards the frontier from Māri, the goddess presiding over epidemic diseases, and from thieves. He, too, is identified with Vishṇu.

Certain features of this myth may be noted. (1) The deities setting out from Malabar are related as brothers and sister. (2) They have a sense of seniority, common to both Malabar and Coorg. (3) As soon as the brothers and sister cross over into Coorg, conflict arises between them. The sister proves supreme, but the brothers manage to defeat her in the end by adopting unfair means. (4) The sister's defeat expresses itself in the caste idiom—a familiar idiom in Coorg folklore. (5) The transition from matrilineal Malabar to patrilineal Coorg results in the overthrow of the sister by the brothers. The brothers adopt unfair means to overthrow the sister, but having overthrown her, are not happy about her degradation. Iggutappa's mountain is covered with clouds which dissolve into rain on the first of Aries: the tears he sheds are not crocodile's tears, as the situation is essentially ambivalent. (6) Finally, the brothers all undergo Sanskritization. The eldest of them is identified with Subramaṇya, while the two younger brothers

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776 are identified with Vishṇu. This is no doubt inconsistent, but
538 Sanskritization frequently produces inconsistencies.

177 Pannangālatammé is only one of several instances of deities
776 losing their caste. Kētrappa (m.) and Povvedi (f.) of Bēngūr lost
569 their caste too. The case of Povvedi of Bēngūr is interesting as her namesake in Balmāvṭi, a village three miles away, retains her caste, has a Brahmin priest, and accepts only offerings of fruit and flowers. The ubiquity of the caste idiom deserves notice: the deities of the lowest castes like Poleyas and Mēdas are not worshipped by the higher castes, and these deities bear the same relation to the deities of the higher castes which the lower castes themselves bear to the higher. The habits of some deities are occasionally explained by reference to the caste idiom. A deity who accepts animal-sacrifice and liquor has lost his original high caste; and sometimes such an explanation enables a Sanskritic deity to become the deity of castes which consume meat and liquor.

III

581 Marriage is a preferred condition among Coorgs, and a married
583 man has a higher ritual and social status than a bachelor. A bachelor's social personality is not regarded as fully developed.

In the case of women, however, the contrast is not so much between spinsters and married women as between the latter and
[292] widows. A widow wears only white clothes, and these clothes may not have a coloured border. The clothes and ornaments worn by a
301] married woman may not be worn by a widow. Certain ornaments which are associated with a married woman, like black glass bangles, necklace of black glass beads, and rolls of palm leaves worn as ear-ornaments, have become symbols of the married state. As such they receive ritual respect.

587 It is usual for young Coorg widows to remarry, and a remarried widow has a higher social and ritual status than a widow who does not remarry, though she does not have the same status as a woman whose first and only husband is alive.

583 Coorgs do not differentiate between a married woman and widow
769 as thoroughly as, for instance, the Brahmins. Amongst the latter marriage and patriliny are bound up with certain theological ideas: a woman's husband is her god, and a son not only continues the lineage but releases his ancestors from a particular kind of hell

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to which people without sons go. Widowhood is the result of sins committed in a previous incarnation. Formerly, a widow's head was shaved, and she was not allowed to remarry. A married woman is regarded as an auspicious person, and articles associated with her, like flowers, vermilion, turmeric powder, glass bangles, and the marriage badge (*tāli*), are regarded as sacred and worshipped on certain occasions. A widow is more or less completely excluded from ritual.

It is necessary to note that the Coorg attitude to the widow is similar to the Brahmin's, though the differentiation between married woman and widow is not as thoroughgoing as among the Brahmin. But the similarity does make possible greater Sanskritization subsequently.

A married woman is a preferred type of person among Coorgs. Motherhood is a preferred condition and formerly the mother of ten children was entitled to have *mangala* performed in her honour.

Other types of preferred persons are the strong man who is also skilled in athletic sports, dancing, and fighting, and the magician who is usually also a doctor. Frequently several preferred traits were combined in the same man, making him doubly or trebly preferred. The preference expresses itself in custom and ritual.

It might be said that the general orientation of Coorg culture is martial. Frequently, customs and rites which appear to be taken over from neighbouring cultures are given a martial twist in Coorg. Competitive games like shooting at a coconut, and fighting for the possession of a coconut, and a collective hunt are introduced into every festival.

The harvest festival and the 'festival of arms' are both very significant in this connexion. It has been pointed out that the most important rites of the harvest festival are the cutting of sheaves, the eating of new rice grains, and the expression of a wish for plenty, but around these central rites are organized dancing and singing, competitive games, and a collective hunt. The incidental elements of the festival take up ten or eleven days while the main elements do not take up more than a day.

The completion of transplantation marks the end of a very arduous period in the cultivation of rice. Thereafter both the men and the oxen are relatively free till the beginning of harvesting. The 'festival of arms' comes at the end of the field season, and at this festival a Coorg resumes his contact with his weapons which

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APPENDIX

THE KĀVĒRI MYTH

I

THE myth woven round the River Kāvēri forms part of the Skānda Purāṇa.[1] In 1864 the Kāvēri Myth, called *Kāvēri Māhātmya* or 'the greatness of Kāvēri', was translated into Kannaḍa from the original Sanskrit by one Śrīnivāsa Iyengār at the instance of an influential Coorg official, Nanjappa, of the Biddanḍa *okka*. The Myth has also been translated into Koḍagi, presumably from the Kannaḍa translation of the Sanskrit original.

The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* as it is found in the *Skānda Purāṇa* is an extremely complicated story, containing many stories within it after the manner of *purāṇic* tales. It is inconsistent in many places, but then a *purāṇa* is intended for the faithful laity who have no disbelief to suspend. Richter, exasperated by the inconsistencies of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya*, has written,

> 'the extraordinary anachronism of Pārvati's blessing given to Chandravarma, the founder of the Coorg people, who is thereby rendered victorious over the Mlēchchas or Turks [Muslim invaders of India], who made their first appearance about 500 years ago, transgresses even the thoughtless audacity of a *purāṇa*; for the *purāṇa* belongs according to its own account to the age of the Rishis (or the sages) who were long extinct when the Turks appeared. The numerous passages, inculcating the duty of the valiant Coorgs, to offer to the Brahmins the honours and gifts due to them, have met with singularly bad success. The Coorgs, it would appear, never troubled themselves much about the contents and admonitions of the Kāvēri book, and though the translation of it was designed to make it accessible to them, it is so highly spiced with Sanskrit and Old Kannaḍa expressions, that few do understand it.'[2]

[1] '"The *Skānda Purāṇa* is that in which the six-faced deity (Skanda) has related the events of the Tatpurusha Kalpa, enlarged with many tales. . . . It is said to contain 81,800 stanzas . . . ." "It is uniformly agreed," says Wilson, "that the *Skānda Purāṇa*, in a collective form, has no existence; and the fragments, in the shape of Sanhitas, Khanḍas, and Māhātmyas, which are affirmed in various parts of India to be portions of the *Purāṇa*, present a much more formidable mass of stanzas than even the immense number of which it is said to consist." ' J. Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary*, pp. 300–1.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 216–17.

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538 177 Richter's understandable irritations and prejudices prevented him from comprehending the true function of the *purāṇa*, which is to account for certain inconsistencies in the culture of Coorgs, and to 'place' them in the caste system. Also the weaving of a *purāṇa* round a local river or mountain represents only an initial step in the Sanskritization of the beliefs, customs, and rites of a people. It prepares the way for subsequent complete Sanskritization. Certain theological and moral ideas come initially with the *purāṇas*.

Richter is right in saying that few Coorgs could have understood a *purāṇa* written in a mixture of Sanskrit and literary Kannaḍa. He could not have foreseen that it would become a folksong several decades later.

538 778 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* describes the story of the divine origin of the river, enumerates the sacred bathing places along its course from source to estuary, and some of the temples on its banks. It deals with Coorg, the country in which the river has its origin, and Coorgs, who are its most distinctive, numerous, and important inhabitants. It gives the story of the origin of Coorgs.

539 Long ago, Kavēra Muni, a sage, retired to Brahmagiri (the present source of the River Kāvēri) mountain in order to meditate on Brahma, the Creator. Kavēra's devotion was so great that in the end four-headed Brahma appeared before him and asked him what he wanted. Kavēra told Brahma that he wanted children. Brahma replied that Kavēra could not have any children of his own because of sins committed in a previous life, but as Kavēra had shown exceptional devotion, Brahma presented him with Lopāmudré, Brahma's adopted daughter, and a manifestation of Pārvati. The sage was pleased with the boon. Lopāmudré informed Kavēra that she regarded herself as his daughter, and that she wanted to become a holy river, a bathe in which would rid people of their sins.

The girl lived with her foster-parents, Kavēra and his wife, till they both died. Some time after their death she met a great sage Agastya,[1] who had gone to the Brahmagiri mountain in order to meditate on Shiva. Agastya fell in love with Kāvēri, as the foster-daughter of Kavēra was called, and asked her to marry him. She agreed on condition that she would leave him for good if she was ever left alone even for a little while.

One morning Agastya wanted to bathe in Kanaké, a river which rises in the Brahmagiri mountain, a mile from the source of the Kāvēri. He put his wife into a vessel and handed the vessel to his young Brahmin disciples for safe keeping during his absence. Kāvēri, annoyed at being

[1] Agastya is a famous rishi, the son of the Vēdic gods Mitra and Varuṇa by Urvashi. He is said to have been born in a water-jar, and was very short of stature. He once drank up the oceans, and compelled the Vindhya mountains to prostrate themselves before him. Tradition accords him a great place in Tamil literature, and also credits him with the introduction of Sanskritic Hinduism and Sanskrit literature into the South. He is also associated with mountains.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

left alone, made the boy carrying the vessel stumble and fall. The vessel rolled on the ground and Kāvēri escaped from it and flowed away as a river. The disciples then stopped the river which promptly went underground. (The Kāvēri flows underground from the source till Bhāgamaṇḍla, where the Kanaké joins it.)

Agastya returned from his bathe and learnt of what had happened in his absence. He ran after his wife who was swiftly flowing away as a river. He caught up with her and expressed his regret at having left her alone and begged her forgiveness. As a result of his entreaties, Kāvēri decided to split herself into two halves, one half flowing away as the River Kāvēri, and the other half becoming Lopāmudré, the wife of Agastya. Agastya then told the river-half the course it should take to the sea, and enumerated the centres of pilgrimage along the course.

II

Long ago a Brahmin sage named Suyajnya settled down on the Brahmagiri mountain and meditated upon Vishṇu with great devotion. His devotion was so great that Vishṇu appeared in person before him and asked him what he wanted. Suyajnya replied that he wanted children, and Vishṇu gave his own daughter Sujyoti to the sage. The deity asked the sage to take the girl to Kanaké, servant of Indra, living on top of the Agni Mountain, near the source of the Kāvēri. Suyajnya did as Vishṇu had instructed him, and took Sujyoti to Kanaké. The two girls decided to meditate together. They did so for several centuries, giving up food and water. At last Indra appeared before them, and he at once fell in love with Sujyoti. He married her.

Some time after marriage Sujyoti informed her friend Kanaké that she was dissatisfied with the life she was leading, and that she wanted to do good to mankind. She suggested to Kanaké that both of them should become rivers and join the Kāvēri. Kanaké fell in with Sujyoti's suggestion and the two flowed away as rivers. Indra became indignant when he saw that his wife had left him to become a river. He cursed her, 'You have become a river without my permission. May your waters dry up.' Sujyoti was so distraught with grief when she heard the curse that Indra felt sorry for her and modified his curse, 'You will flow without water till you join the Kāvēri at Bhāgamaṇḍla, and then in the company of Kāvēri and Kanaké join the sea.'

The Rivers Kāvēri and Kanaké meet at Bhagāmaṇḍla, and to these two which actually meet there the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* adds a third, Sujyoti, which is said to meet the two unseen. Apropos of this Richter writes, 'The story of the invisible river Sujyoti, joining the Kanaké and Kāvēri is a lame imitation of the northern tale, that Saraswati, a stream of great renown among the Brahmins, is not lost, as it seems, in the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

538 desert sands, but joins the Jumna and Ganges at Prayāga (Allahabād)."[1]
177 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is an attempt to produce a southern parallel to the northern model. Here again is an instance of the way in which the Sanskritic idiom extends over the whole of India.

III

539 Another, and a very important, part of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* brings the river Kāvēri, the country of its origin, and the most distinctive inhabitants of the country, Coorgs, all into relation with each other. A special and intimate bond is created between the three.

Siddhārta, the King of Matsyadēsha, had four sons, the youngest and most gifted of whom was Chandravarma. Some time after he had come of age Chandravarma left his father and went on a pilgrimage to various holy places in south India. In the course of his pilgrimage he went to the Brahmagiri mountain where he meditated on Pārvati, the wife of Shiva. When the goddess presented herself before Chandravarma and asked him what he wanted, he replied that he wanted a kingdom, a wife of Kshatriya caste who would bear him children, and a place in heaven after death. Pārvati told him that owing to sins committed in a previous life, he could not have children from a wife belonging to his own caste, but would have to be content with children from a Shūdra wife. The goddess herself presented him with a Shūdra bride, and told him that his wife would bear him eleven sons, who would be called *ugras*. They would be courageous and righteous, and respectful to Brahmins. They would be equal to Kshatriyas in every respect except one, viz., they would not be entitled to the performance of Vēdic ritual. They would be devoted to the worship of Shiva and Pārvati.[2] The goddess assured Chandravarma that she would be born in course of time as the River Kāvēri, and confer prosperity and other blessings on the children (Coorgs) of Chandravarma. She asked him to go forth and clear the land of Mlēchchas (Muslims). She gave him a victorious sword, a white horse quick as the wind, and an army to drive the Mlēchchas out of the country.

Chandravarma overcame the Mlēchchas and married a woman of his own caste according to Vēdic rites. The coronation ceremony was performed by Brahmins to whom he gave houses and lands. He invited other castes to settle down in Coorg, called Matsyadēsha after the country ruled by his father. He had eleven sons from his Shūdra wife, and Vēdic rites were performed for each of them on occasions like the conferment of name, performance of tonsure, and investment with the sacred thread.

[1] Op. cit., p. 216.

[2] The *Skānda Purāṇa*, of which the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is only a part, has a Shaivite orientation. The River Kāvēri is identified with Lopāmudrē, a manifestation of Pārvati.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

In this respect they were treated like Kshatriyas and other twice-born castes.

When they came of age, the eleven sons married the hundred daughters of the King of Vidharbadēsha, the eldest son Dēvakānta marrying twenty girls, the second son, sixteen, the third, twelve, and so on.

Chandravarma retired with his two wives to the Himālayas to meditate on Shiva and Pārvati. Before his departure he told his children that Pārvati would be reborn in Coorg as the River Kāvēri and that they would be happy as long as they continued to worship Shiva and Pārvati, and the Brahmins.

Each of the sons of Chandravarma had more than a hundred sons. They were all very strong men, with nails as sharp and powerful as the tusks of boars. With their nails they levelled the ground and tore up the forests, and generally reclaimed land.

> 'Then they settled themselves anew in the country, the face of which they had changed by the strength of their own arms. Around them they planted houses and families of Brahmins and other castes. Because this re-establishment of the country resembled the renowned deeds of the *varahāvatāra* (the boar-incarnation of Vishṇu),[1] the country of Chandravarma's sons was henceforth called Krōdadēsha, and its inhabitants 'Krōda people'. The word Krōda is said to have been changed and corrupted by degrees into Koḍagu, which is the present, and probably was the original name of the country.'[2]

Two days before the first of Libra, when the Kāvēri festival is celebrated annually, Pārvati appeared in a dream to Dēvakānta, the King of Coorgs, and ordered him to assemble his people in a place called Balmuri, where she would meet them. Accordingly, all Coorgs assembled there to greet Pārvati in the form of a river. The river came rushing down the valley, and the violence of the flood pushed the frontal knots of the women's *saris* to their backs, and even now Coorg women push the frontal knot to the back in memory of their first bathe in the Kāvēri. Pārvati appeared in person before the assembled Coorgs, and told them to ask a boon of her. Coorgs asked for children, wealth, a kingdom for themselves, and a priest, and Kāvēri granted them everything they asked for.

It is clear from the brief summary of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* given above that it is Brahminical in origin. Brahmins are praised in it, conferred wealth and other privileges, and Coorg kings are told that they should 'establish holy Brahmins' in their land.

[1] A demon named Hiraṇyāksha dragged the earth to the bottom of the sea. Vishṇu assumed the form of a boar (*varāha*) and rescued the earth after slaying the demon at the end of a contest lasting a thousand years.

[2] Op. cit., p. 224. *Krōdha* means 'anger, wrath, and passion'.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

342 door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner roof is supported on four pillars, [352] resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah, and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen-dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the hole house, coating and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are [778] tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the [353] roof and above the wooden ceiling, which is covered with a thick layer of [312] earth to keep the rooms below dry and fireproof, serves for storing bags of [343] rice, baskets, pots and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes, and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

352 The simplicity of the habits of the Coorgs is reflected in the furniture that they use. Wooden cots are generally used, with straw, coir, or cotton mattresses and cushions, sheets, and blankets; on the floor, they have coarse mats for rubbing their feet before going to bed. Occasionally they use wooden stools. A wooden shelf is fixed to the wall in each room to keep [415] their brass vessels, plates and lamps. Rattan or wooden boxes contain their [854] clothing and jewels. There is always a spittoon in one corner of the room. [777] Where there is a baby, a rattan cradle is suspended from the ceiling within reach of the mother's bed. Young Coorgs of the present day have better houses and good furniture as also comfortable arrangements in the European style.

Internal Structure

619 The Coorgs are composed of four endogamous groups, Amma, Sanna Malla and Boddu Coorgs. The Amma and Sanna Coorgs are found in all parts of Coorg. The Malla and Sanna Coorgs are united and are no longer distinguishable. They form the principal class of Coorgs.

Exogamy

614 The Coorg clans are too many to mention. Most of them are their local house names. Some are alien. Marriage within the clan is prohibited.

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [178] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

423 The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house 425 and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, 177 because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

[P 51]

CHAPTER IX

COORG (Contd.)

THE worship of the demons and ancestor-spirits constitutes the religion of the Coorgs. They have been influenced by contact with the Malayali, Canarese, Brahmanical and Lingayat superstitions. The Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at their demon and ancestor worship. The Tulus are their Pujaris. The worship of Mariamman (the smallpox demon) was introduced by the Mysoreans. The domiciled Brahmans of Coorg have succeeded in the introduction of Mahadeva and Subrahmania, and have temples erected and idols set up for worship. The Lingayats or Sivachars are also endeavouring to introduce the worship of Linga. Since the days of Vira Rajendra, Christianity was introduced in Coorg, and there is a Roman Catholic Settlement with a fine church at Virajpet, but Christianity has not made much headway in Coorg.

Ancestor-Worship

The ancestor-worship of the Coorgs is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead hover inside and outside the Coorg dwellings and cause endless trouble in the absence of adequate propitiation. Each Coorg house has a *Kaimatta* (a building close at hand) under a tree in the fields or in the yard close to the house. This is a raised mud platform where carved stones representing the images of their ancestors are placed. Sacrifices of fowls and pigs are made to them. Sometimes the Coorgs become possessed of the spirits of the dead and express all their desires when they are sumptuously fed and given drink. The spirits of ancestors are believed to hand over their locality and become angry now and then. A male ghost is called *Karana*, and a female one *Sodalachi* or *Karanchi*.

It is a belief among the Coorgs that ghosts cause trouble, and females even more so. The Sodalachis are ever inclined to smite children with sickness and sometimes even the adult males and females of the house. In fact they are ever inclined to do harm. With a view to appease their wrath, rice, arrack, milk and other delicacies are offered on various occasions during the year to them. Once a month, a fowl or two are offered at the *Kaimatta* to please them. In such cases a member of the community becomes possessed. He then puts off his head dress and walks in front of the house in a state of trance. While in this condition, the members of the family appear before him to represent their grievances. He makes some incoherent utterances which are believed to be emanations from one of the ancestors who has not been propitiated with offerings. At once he is treated to meat and drink, and neighbours are allowed to come in and put questions to the possessed. These gifts are called *Karana Baruna*.

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and the popular song of the Coorg mountaineer does full justice to this sentiment.

(3) Bhagavathi Feast

The Bhagavathi feast has been introduced by the Tulu Brahmins. It takes place two months preceding the monsoon. It is connected with demoniacal possessions, and extends over nine days. Tantri Brahmins, Coorgs and Holeyas have their share in the feast, and votaries disport themselves in their orgies in as noisy a manner as the Ajjala Palyas. The chief object of the feast is the collection of votive offerings to Tantri Brahmins who are an object of dread to the Coorgs.

(4) Devasthans

The Coorg Devasthanas are rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roof within a gloomy grove. The only ones deserving notice are those at Bhagamandala, Palur, Irupu and Omkareswara Devasthans at Mercara, the latter of which is built in the same Moorish style as the Rajas' tombs.

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3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AWS Coorg AWS

249 [655] tree is needed to reinvigorate them In the time of the Coorg Rajas, cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

Coffee Cultivation

245 [177] The cultivation of coffee is another great industry in Coorg. It was first introduced by the Moplas, and the Coorgs borrowed it fron them. It became a popular industry which effected great changes in their economic life. But the depression which has since followed led to the abandonment of many estates and to renewed interest in rice cultivation.

Fruit Cultivation

Of fruit trees, plantains and oranges are common all over Coorg. Coorg oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegrantes, and jack fruit are abundant.

231 222 237 [431] [432]

Honey and Wax

Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorgs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among rocks. But tht Coorgs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hive, while other swarms belong to the finder. The hives are made in hollowed logs loosely fitting in set ends. They are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from animals. To obtain the honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the comb is then fried out and all the comb is then removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with beeswax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees are gathered and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night, cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. When honey is finally gathered by pressing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

Hunting and Fishing

The Coorgs have been skilful hunters, and still keep up their hunting habits. Their chief weapons were the gun and the big knife in addition to the small handy waist knife. They no longer use the bow and arrow, or the sling. The long matchlock gun has gone out of use, and the wealthier Coorgs are now equipped with English guns and rifles of the best kind. The big broad-bladed curved Coorg knife, *odikathi*, is a most formidable weapon in a hand-to-hand fight. The bulk of them hunt partly for sport, and partly to supplement their vegetable diet. Pigs are coursed with dogs, brought to bay, and killed with spears, which are short, heavy, and broad in the blade, or with ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely, and hunters are sometimes wounded or killed. Most animals are trapped. When they go hunting in a party, they have dogs which are set on tracking. When they bark, and the hunters approach, the animal is disturbed. It tries to run away or charges them. In the latter case they aim at the animal with guns and kill it. 224 411 [177] 224

In their spare moments the Coorgs fish in streams, rivers and tanks. They use nets. The ordinary one is the *thadusala* which is spread across the stream to prevent fish from escaping. At a distance of about a furlong, they spread another net so as to drive the fish within the net. When the nets are brought closer, many fish are caught by hand. They use also another net known as *beesvala* by which they catch fish by shooting and throwing baits. 226

Dietary

The Coorgs have an abundant variety of food materials. They eat pigs and goats. Their chief article of food is rice, and on festive occasions cakes and sweetmeats are prepared. Earthenware vessels are used. Their kitchens are remarkable for the cleanliness of their cooking vessels in use which are in charge of the cook. Like their Hindu sisters, the Coorg women attend on elderly members before they take meals. Before serving the meals, a little of the cooked food is offered to the family deity at the Kanni-kombare. They take an early breakfast of rice seasoned with curds and pickles. A substantial meal is taken at noon with rice and curry. At 3 p.m. kanji is again taken, and in the evening a hearty meal of boiled rice with vegetable and meat curry and other condiments. Toddy tapped from the bastard sago-palm, arrack and a kind of beer made of fermented rice, brandy are the usual beverages. Of late European liquors have become common beverages at festivities. 264 262 [415] [782] [273] [177]

Coorg Hospitality

The Coorg women deserve much for their industry. They rise very early, clean the kitchen, and do all kinds of work. They bear the 462

ful fashioned turban, rather flat and large at top and covering a portion of the back of the neck. They are found in all shades of complexion, and when dressed in a costume they look very grand. The officers and students have now taken to the European style of dress in preference to their own. 291 [177]

The women are more conservative in their dress. It consists of a white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fitting tight and close up to the neck. The skirt is white muslin or blue cotton stuff wrapped several times round and tied at the waist by a string. One end is brought over the bosom and knotted on the right shoulder. To give usefulness to the skirt, the other end is arranged into folds, which, contrary to the fashion of Hindu women, are gathered behind. The head is covered with a white muslin and coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead, and the four corners are joined together at the back, allowing the ends to fall over the shoulders.

Ornaments

The richness of the ornaments worn by a woman is the criterion to judge the status of a Coorg family. Glass, silver or gold bracelets are worn round their wrists. Their necks are adorned with chains of coral, pearls, or gobi from which are suspended old Portuguese coins. They have ornaments for the nose and the rims of the ears. They wear gold rings or rings set with precious stones, and silver ones are worn on the toes. These are similar to those of Hindu women,. The bridal dress adds to all this finery a many-coloured shawl which covers the body, and in the absence of a kerchief golden hair ornaments, *ch uriguhbi* are worn. Coorg women are skilful in embroidery work, with which they adorn their white kerchief and the seams and corners of the men's white cotton dress. They use red marking cotton and their patterns are very complicated and elegant, and are equally visible on both sides of the dress. 301 [554] [535]

Martial Spirit

The Coorgs have earned a high reputation for their martial prowess. In the words of Lt. Connor, they may be said to be armed from their childhood and the martial spirit is inculcated from the beginning of a man's life. War and agriculture seem their twin natural pursuits, and no harm arises from this happy combination of soldier and husbandman. They show no trace of the savage disposition which often characterises the martial class. They resemble the Nayars in some respects. Both are devoted to arms. Both are characterised by a gallant spirit of generosity and delicate sentiments of honour. The feelings which attach the highlander to the mountains and that fondness for their country which distinguishes subjects of small States are observed among the Coorgs. 181

Physical and Mental Characters

The Coorgs are a hardy race. They have given proof of being brave soldiers and were much dreaded for their fierce intrepedity in encounters with their enemies. Military officers have commended their fitness for the formation of regiments. They are tall, muscular, broad-chested, strong limbed, and swift footed. Their colour is lighter than might be expected in this latitude. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an equiline nose, and finely chiselled lips, set off by a well trimmed moustache. According to Holland, the Coorg is taller than the Yerava, has a finer nose, a larger head with a distinct tendency to brachycephalism, and a more perfect approach to orthognathism. Apart from anthropometric results, we have the contrast of colour between the fair (light brown) Coorg and the very dark skinned Yerava. The hair of the former is straight, while that of the Yerava is distinctly wavy, and the broad nose of the latter is accompanied by thick, slightly everted lips. The Coorgs and the Yeravas belong to two distinct ethnic types. The maximum, the minimum, and the average stature, cephalic and nasal indices are given below:

	Stature		Cephalic Index		Nasal Index	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Max.	184.5	166.0	90.7	93.2	100.0	74.0
Min.	149.1	131.5	66.5	70.9	46.3	50.9
Avg.	167.1	151 2	80.6	82.9	65.2	60.3

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have been for ages dormant for want of opportunities. Consequently they have been observed to be ignorant and superstitious in common with people of lower cultures. The march of civilization during the last 50 years has brought considerable improvement. English schools for boys and girls have been started in important centres. It has been found that Coorg students are by no means backward in intellectual brightness and acquisitiveness. They have a high standard of morality in common with their brethren in other parts of India.

Language

Richter believes that there is a close relationship between the Kodagu and other Dravidian languages; but being neither cultivated beyond its colloquial use, nor possessing any original literature, it hardly deserves the distinction of being elevated into a special Dravidian language, as Bishop Caldwell does. It may be considered a more local dialect.

Conclusion

The Coorgs numbered 41,026 in the Census of 1931, 20,752 being males and 20,274 females. Their mode of life and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[P. 1 : 1]

PREFACE.

THIS Manual aims at a truthful sketch of the past history and the present physical and political position of the interesting Province of Coorg which has for the last 36 years been under the sway of the British Government.

Great changes have taken place during this period. Coorg, though for a long time a jealously guarded *imperium in imperio*, had gradually to yield to the onward march of civilization, in spite of the antagonism of its conservative Headmen. Good roads in every direction opened up this once impenetrable mountain-girt tract, and numbers of enterprising British settlers with capital and national energy have already stamped a new character upon the country. By three opposite lines the electric wire has linked Coorg with the grand net of the South-Indian telegraph and consequently with Europe and far distant America. Education is firmly and extensively established, and the administration of the country compares most favourably with that of any well-governed province in India.

By the kind permission of the Superintendent and the Chief-Commissioner of Coorg, I had access for the compilation of this Gazetteer to all the official records bearing on the subject. Amongst these I have found the "Rájéndranáme" and the "Memoir of the Coorg Survey" of great service. The former contains the history of the Coorg Rájahs from 1633 to 1808, composed under the eye of Dodda-Vírájender, the hero of Coorg history. The latter was written by Lieut. Connor of the Royal Engineers in 1817. Though drawn up under the most untoward circumstances, it exhibits a clear and comprehensive insight into the state of Coorg half a century since and reflects great credit upon the intelligence and ability of that Officer.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 461 526 legs well qualify them. The sign is given and away they scramble and plunge and stagger in the deep mud and roars of laughter greet the unfortunate wight who tumbles into the mud. Having reached the opposite bank, they return the same way, and hard is their struggle close to the winning post. The first comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a basket of oranges and the fifth with parched rice. [594] When all the fields are planted, a feast for the people is given by the landlord.

243 [989] As a protection against the evil eye, some half burnt bamboos about 6 feet high are erected in a line throughout the middle of the fields. It is now the farmer's business, to regulate the water supply of each field and to fill up holes made by crabs in the embankments. Also the weeding is attended to and any failures are replanted. At the end of [343] October, when the ears of the grain are fully out, huts on high posts are erected, one for every 100 butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild beasts and occasionally fires off a gun. In November or December the paddy gets ripe and the feast of first fruits or "Huttari" is celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off the fields, the paddy cut down with sickles close to the ground and spread out to dry; after 5 or 6 days it is bound up into sheaves and carried home and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or February, chiefly in moon- [435] light nights, the sheaves are taken down to the threshing floor, spread round a stone pillar, fixed in the middle, and trodden out by bullocks and buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed, the best quality reserved for seed and the rest stored up in the granary, already described, for home consumption and for sale, the price varying from 2 to 4 Rs. a [199] butty. A threshing machine, lately introduced by Lieut. Mackenzie, excited the astonishment and admiration of the

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natives; but the handlabour of two coolies for turning it appears to them too severe and impracticable for large quantities of paddy. A winnowing machine would find greater favour. 243 [179]

The cultivation of Cardamom is to a great number of Coorgs next in importance to that of rice, and the possession of a fine cardamom jungle is regarded as a mine of wealth. In the time of the Coorg Rajahs and for some time after, cardamoms were a Government monopoly, and the cultivators had to sell their produce at a fixed rate to the Sircar, receiving from 12 to 20 rupees per maund of 40 seers dry capsules. Now the jungles are held from the state on a lease of 10 years, at 3 lacs of rupees, but this revenue to Government has not yet reached the amount, cleared by the Rajahs which, owing to their monopoly of selling the spice, rose as high as 80,000 rupees per annum! Any jungles that are not disposed of at the lease-auction, are worked by the ryots for Government. 249 [556] [655]

The Cardamom plant (Elettaria cardamomum *Kg.* yélaki) grows spontaneously in the evergreen forests or Malés along the Ghat-line and its spurs at an elevation of from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. Still, nature requires a certain stimulus to produce the plant in greater abundance and this is effected by a singular process, but though perfectly empirical on the part of the natives, no doubt it is based on a natural law which holds good in many other instances, where seed is kept in the ground in a state of vitality for a long period, till such a change in the climatic condition is brought about, as will favour its germination and subsequent growth. Of many other instances besides the cardamom, I need only mention: the Mexican thistle (Argemone Mexicana), the white weed (Ageratum cordifolium) and the charcoal tree (Sponia Wightii), all of which spring up spontaneously on newly cleared or broken, but favourable soil.

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249 to the hut before sunset. After a hearty meal, they pick the capsules from the branches, an operation that keeps them up till late at night. With the dawn of day the men set out again for the plantation. The master remains. At noon the women of the house arrive; the picked cardamoms are measured into bags which they carry home to the drying ground. In the Gade-males the cardamoms are dried on the spot on a bamboo mat in the open but near a sheltering hut in case of rain. They are thinly spread and require but 4 days' hot sun to dry; further exposure would cause the capsules to burst, which is avoided. Before the capsules are ready for the market, the fruit-stalks are rubbed off, and all impurities [251] removed. When assorted according to size and colour, they are stored away in closed baskets in a dry room, to preserve [439] their aroma. Mopla traders or their agents visit the Nâds at this time with a stock of bright handkerchiefs and other attractive finery for the Coorg women and make many a good bargain.

Some Coorgs gather from 30 to 50 maunds in weight of dry cardamoms, one maund (equal to 1,100 rupees in weight) is worth from 50 to 65 rupees in Coorg. The average produce of one garden of a quarter of an acre in extent may be estimated at 10 seers of dry cardamom. The contingent expenditure is insignificant. With more systematic cultivation seedlings and roots might be transplanted, and by trenching, manuring and irrigation, the produce might be greatly increased in quantity; but the owners of cardamom jungles require to have them on a longer lease, to make such extra expenditure remunerative.

245 *Coffee cultivation.*—There are but few Europeans and 177 natives in Coorg, who are not interested in coffee cultivation. [167] As the rush to the Ceylon Coffee-districts before the memorable years of 1847 and 1848, so has been the influx of European settlers to Coorg for the last 8 years. Their number is

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now over fifty and the change already effected in the appearance of the country would surprise one who left Coorg 10 years ago. The capabilities of the province as a coffee-growing country have long been known to the natives, and it is a matter of surprise, that the European enterprise did not enter on the field till a much later date. It is conjectured that in the time of the Coorg Rajahs some Moplas, to whom they had given land near Nalknád, introduced the shrub from seed, which was brought from "Mocha" or perhaps second hand from Munzerabad. Its successful and profitable cultivation was at first concealed from the Coorgs, but these were shrewd enough to find out for themselves, that, whilst none of the fabled fatal consequences followed the cultivation of the shrub, there was a ready and lucrative sale for the produce. Through the exertions of the first British Superintendent, Captain Le Hardy, who took a deep interest in the material prosperity of the country, the coffee plant became almost universal, and now there is hardly a Coorg or any native house, that does not pride itself in a coffee-garden, comprising, it may be, a few trees or as many acres.

The native mode of cultivation was exceedingly simple. The plants, reared from seed in a nursery, were in the monsoon put out on a shady hill-slope, the underwood of which had been previously cleared away. An occasional weeding was all the attention bestowed upon the plants which in 3 or 4 years, according to the density of the covering shade, gave a promising crop, that was picked, dried and disposed of in the husk to the merchant, as they did with their cardamoms, the price of dry cherry coffee averaging from 7 to 10 rupees per batty of 80 seers measure.

When coffee cultivation was taken in hand by European skill and energy, the industry soon assumed greater importance. Mr. Fowler, the first European Planter, opened up the Mercara Estate in 1854, Mr. H. Mann became the pioneer on

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the Sampáji Ghat in 1855, Dr. Maxwell opened up the Perambadi Ghat estates in 1856, and in 1857 Mr. Kaundinya founded Anandapur village with a most promising plantation in the Bamboo district. Round these first centres of cultivation dozens of extensive estates sprang up within a short time. Every one who beheld a hill-side, covered with the rich, luxuriant coffee shrub was bewitched by its golden promises. Here seemed to have been discovered the Eldorado of honest industry in a delightful climate and home-like country! Natives too, enriched by the sale of forest land, followed the example of the European planter, and opened up large estates; private and public companies were formed to embark in the lucrative speculation; forest land was to be had either from Government for the mere asking or by purchase from native holders. Cooly labour flowed in plentifully. Thousands of acres of the finest forest land fell under the planter's axe. Every new settler was hailed as a lucky fellow, whose lot was cast in pleasant places. Lacs of rupees were spent in the expectation of a cent per cent return. With the approach of the looked for fabulous income, the excitement rose apace. Envy had fixed an eye upon the fortunate planter;—but never before stood he more in need of pity and sympathy than at that time. A succession of bad seasons disappointed his prospects year after year; then the "Bug" infested the finest estates on the Sampáji and Perambadi Ghat, and scarcely had it left, when the terrible "White Borer," whose acquaintance we have already made, threatened to destroy the very foundation of his prosperity. There are but few planters who have as yet escaped either of these dire calamities, and their success makes the loss of others all the more felt. There is however no cause for despair. The soil and climate of the country seem eminently suitable for coffee cultivation. Coffee may yet succeed in Coorg and the undaunted planter may yet have his reward, if the method of cultivation, best

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suited for each locality, is carefully adopted, and if with the increase of jungle vegetation, especially bamboos, better seasons may be expected to return and the "White Borer" to disappear.

The approved methods of coffee cultivation in Coorg are planting under shade and on the open ground, and an intelligent planter will be guided by his experience of the elevation, exposure, and amount of atmospheric humidity of his locality which method to apply. If shade-planting is decided upon, there is the choice between natural and artificial shade, and in either case due regard is paid to full light and free circulation of air. The former method is but the improved native way of planting already described. For artificial shade-planting the jungle trees are all removed and either burnt or—which seems to be better—piled up and allowed to rot, when of the spontaneous new growth, especially the Sponia Wightii or "Charcoal tree" which springs up like weeds, a sufficient number of trees is allowed to remain. More permanent shade-trees, however, are the jack tree, the Poinciana regia, Bauhinia, the mango tree etc., seeds of which are put down at regular distances on the plantation, and after 5 or 6 years the young trees offer already partial shade. Coffee trees on open ground, that require no shade owing to a moister atmosphere, are evidently in a more congenial habitat; they grow stronger, live longer and yield an earlier and successively more regular and larger crop than trees under shade. Some of the Sampáji Ghat-estates nearest Mercara are of this description and their present appearance leaves hardly anything to be desired in coffee planting.

The soil and elevation best suited for cardamoms is also best adapted for coffee cultivation, hence at first the desire to secure cardamom jungles for coffee plantations.

After a piece of land has been cleared and regularly pitted with holes 18 inches cube and at a distance of 5 or 6 feet from each other, the surface soil is filled in and a peg fixed in the centre. With the first burst of the monsoon, the sturdy

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Auwa[1] at Almanda. The name of one was Timmaya, that of the other Máchu. Máchu had a son Ayappa whose son was Bollu, the father of Stephanas, the first Coorg Christian." 592 562 173

The culinary art of the Coorg women is not much appreciated by a European palate, which relishes less hot condiments and a more sparing use of oil and ghee. Meat, whether game, pork, mutton, fowl or fish is cut into small pieces irrespective of joints and made into a nourishing savoury curry, which, with a dish of boiled rice, seasoned with mango, lime, citron and Ambatti-pickle, makes to native taste an excellent meal. The Coorg women excel in preparing a great variety of pickle and chutney, also sweet preserves and sweetmeats. Their appams or níradóshe are relished even by Europeans. The kitchens of the Coorgs, which are inside the house, are remarkable for the cleanliness of the cooking-vessels in use. 252 262 [356]

The Coorgs generally take an early meal at 7 of rice-conjee seasoned with pickle or curds. At 10 they partake of a more substantial breakfast, consisting of boiled rice and curry. At 3 o'clock again conjee is taken as in the morning, and in the evening a hearty supper of boiled rice with vegetable or meat-curry and other condiments. Toddy of the Baine-mara (Caryota urens), also a kind of beer made of fermented rice, rice-brandy and arrack are the usual beverages, but lately the strongest European liquors have become only too familiar to the Coorgs at all hours of the day. 264 262 273 [177]

As is the custom with other Hindus, the Coorg women attend upon their lords and the male members of the house, before they sit down to their own separate meal. This selfish and unmanly custom greatly detracts from the charm of family life. The meals spread on brass plates, on low stools, are rather animal feeds than family gatherings round the social table. [562] [415] [352]

The Coorgs are very hospitable; no beggar goes away empty from their houses. A visit from Europeans is looked 574

[1] [Errata: this should read "Dodda-Auva" see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 993 -- ANALYST]

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carry the bride with them. On her return to her former home, she is treated as unclean, her dress and ornaments are taken from her; she is not permitted to touch anything in the house, and is shut up like a woman after childbirth. In this seclusion the young woman is kept for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family. From that time she becomes free. She goes back to her new home, and may now return on a visit to her mother's house, whenever she likes, without fear of molestation. In Kiggattnád the Coorgs have conformed in some measure to Badaga (Canarese) customs. There the new couple first meet in the bride's house and are both of them welcomed by the relatives and other guests. Then the same ceremony is gone through in the bridegroom's house, whither the party repair in company. But the true Coorg-rites are strictly observed in Coorg proper, or the Méndalenád, i. e. the northern part, the highland-country. For Kiggattnád is in many more respects, than geographical position only, below Méndalenád.

It has been asserted, both by Lieutenant Connor and Dr. Moegling, that the married life of the Coorgs is disfigured by the extraordinary and pernicious system of Polyandry or rather communism of women in one house. Also Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore (Second Edition, Madras 1869.) asserts as "perfectly true" (Vol. II p. 102.) a similar statement, contained in Tippu's address to the Coorgs, which is given further on in the historical part. Upon a careful examination of the matter, I may state as a fact, that, whatever may have been the custom in bygone ages, there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a "national rite." That a people without the restraint of a morality, based upon pure and holy religious principles and enlivened by divine grace, should live together, exposed to great temptations, without occasionally falling into grievous sin, is too much to expect

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preparations ended, the body is carried into the middle apartment (nadumane) of the house and laid upon a funeral bed, near to which a lighted lamp is placed. Instead of oil, those who can afford it, burn on this occasion clarified cow's butter in half a cocoanut placed on a handful of rice in a copper-dish. The whole company gathers round him and breaks out into loud wailing, beating the breast, tearing the hair, much in the usual Hindu style. Guns are also fired in honor of the dead. Towards evening the corpse is brought into the yard, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives, and a piece of money deposited in a copper-dish, containing a little cocoamilk, saffron, rice and well-water. Now the body is carried to the burial or burning ground. Each funeral guest approaches, dips his finger into the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two, and lays a piece of money into the plate. This collection goes to defray the expenses of the funeral. After all present have thus taken their last leave of the departed, the body is deprived of the ornaments, and laid in the grave or upon the pile, the contents of the funeral-lamp-dish are thrown upon it, and now the covering of the grave, or the burning of the pile, concludes the ceremony. Before this last scene, however, some relatives must be set apart for funeral observances until the Dhiti, the great ceremonial day, which is sometimes celebrated on the 28th day after the death of a person, i. e. at the end of the lunar month in which the decease has occurred, sometimes later, as late as six months, when peculiar honor is intended to be done to the departed. In the interval the relatives, who offer themselves for this service, have to perform a lesser course of fasting. They forego the early and the second meal, at six and nine o'clock. At noon they bathe, prepare their own food, eat part of it themselves (it consists of rice and a little pickled vegetables), and give the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Dhiti,

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c. The Bhagavati-feast.

Of the two lesser annual festivals one, the Bhagavati-feast, has been introduced by Tulu Brahmans, or, if it was originally a Coorg observance, has been thoroughly brahmanized.

It takes place during the two months preceding the monsoon. Different localities differ in the time of its celebration. Two or three villages have one Bhagavati temple in common, and support it jointly. These temples are in charge of Brahmans entirely. Tulu Brahmans hold the livings; with them some Padárthis, a lower class of Brahmans, who wear no holy string, are associated as musicians to Bhagavati. The whole establishment is under the management of some Tantri-Brahmans in the Tulu country, who come every eighth or tenth year, to consecrate idols and to collect money. On these occasions large sums are offered by the superstitious. The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say, that if one of the Tantri-Brahmans be offended and curse a man, he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of these masters of the black art, to say to a man: "do you not see?" or "do you not hear?" and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or deafness, or even death. Strange! It would appear, that the common worship of the great gods of the country was less degrading to the mind, and engendered a more cheerful kind of superstition, than this wild sort of idolatry, which has enslaved the poor Coorgs. The Tantrics, on one of their visits, will gather some two or three hundred rupees from the money-loving Coorgs. Sometimes an idol of Bhagavati has lost its power, when they re-enliven it. Or the officiating Brahman, who has played the possessed on festival days, has died. The Tantri has to appoint his successor. These services are not performed gratuitously; the presiding Tantri receives every year one half of the profits of the establishment, through a curate whom he leaves in charge.

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On the following morning the youths assemble for a hunt in the forest, belonging to the village. Whatever game is brought down, is divided by the huntsmen in the following manner: the man who has killed the animal, receives a hind-quarter and the head, the rest belongs to the company. This day is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nádu, a repetition of the village-hunt, on a larger scale. The Keilmúrta, to the taste of young Coorg, is the most glorious of all the festivals.

5. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND POPULAR SUPERSTITION.

The previous description of familiar and popular Coorg life would be incomplete without an account of other *religious observances*, if such a name may be given to the lowest degree of superstitions, which take the place of the worship of God among this rude race.

a. The sanctuaries of a Coorg community.

Instead of a general description, a short sketch of the village "Arméri" in Beppunád, the centre of Coorg life, may serve as a specimen.

Arméri numbers only 25 Coorg houses, but is richly provided with idol shrines. First a Bhagavati temple in charge of Brahmans. In connection with this kind of worship there is a Mahádéva temple, and two Lingas in the jungle, which receive regular púja. Also two sanctuaries of Ayappa (the Shani, Saturn Pán? of Hindu mythology) have Brahmans for priests. Ayappa (Lord) is quite naturalized among the Coorgs. He is the great forest-god, a mighty hunter, to whom models in clay of dogs, horses and tigers are offered in abundance. In these observances the whole community joins under the superintendence of Brahmans. There are besides six places in which Chámundi or Raktéshvari (names for Párvati, Shiva's

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wife) is worshipped once a year, when pigs are sacrificed.— This is, of course, an abomination to the Brahmans.

b. Ancestral and Demon worship.

The principal place in Coorg-idolatry is held by the worship of the dead. Every family offers a sacrifice to its departed ancestors once a year, during the two months preceding the monsoon. A fowl, generally a cock, is killed, upon a stone devoted to the Káranas, somewhere in the jungle-land belonging to the family estate. (Kárana is the name given to the heads of families whether living or dead.) Seven of the Arméri houses, however, have little temples where *Kóla* or *Bárani* is annually performed. Kóla is the name of a sacrifice connected with demoniacal dancing, Bárani, of a sacrifice to the dead without the dances. These temples consecrated to the worship of the dead are called *Keimada*. Mada is the Coorg word for Matha, a religious building. The meaning of the word "kei" may possibly stand for Kárana, or simply denote: near, at hand, private. The Pújáris (officiating priests) employed in these ceremonies are Malayálas long since naturalized in Coorg, Panika, Maleya, Banna men, subordinate to the Kanyas, the hereditary Malayálam astrologers of Coorg. At the Kólas they beat drums and sing verses in commemoration of the ancestors. Those who are to be possessed by the spirits, wear masks and buckle on swords. As they sing of the deceased father, or grandfather, or other ancestor, his spirit seizes them and they speak as his mouthpieces. To each spirit a sacrifice is offered, a cock and a bottle of spirits, which his representative drinks, thus fortifying himself for future exertion during the night. The ceremony begins after sunset, in the presence of the whole village-community, and is continued until morning. About seven or eight o'clock in the morning pigs are sacrificed. The head of one of the pigs belongs to the performers, the

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788 here with firm grasp a husband drags his timid spouse along
783 the rock and into the caldron; and even the tender babe at his mother's breast is brought within the influence of the bath. Dripping and shivering the bathers force their way back through the new arrivals and seek a sunny spot to change their garments. The pressure is great, the path slippery, and the confusion and pressure[1] alarming. According to
[197] Brahminical superstition the colour of the water in the cal-
[823] dron indicates the intensity of the guilt of the bathing pilgrim. The darker its hue the greater the guilt, and yet the phenomenon depends only on the accident, whether the falling water is intercepted by the bodies of the bathers or whether it reaches the basin directly, and by the force of its fall is beaten into foam.

788 After bathing the pilgrims assemble at about 4 o'clock in
793 the temple, where a Brahmin dances before the idol shrine
798 with a brass image of Isvara upon his head; another Brahmin
179 with a plate receives the small money offerings, and a third distributes Prasáda i. e. flowers and globules of sandal. The native officials first make their obeisance, the most devoted amongst them even the Sáshtángam i. e. touching the ground with the 8 members of the body, and then offer their gift. This temple possesses 2,000 batties of rice-land and annually receives on this festive occasion Rupees 400 from Government! The origin of Irpu and Hérumálu-játre is based upon
788 a common Brahminical legend:—One day when Ráma, with
798 his followers, was living in this place, his younger brother
179 Lakshmana in a fit of madness insulted him by returning the
539 bow and arrows which Lakshmana some time before had received from Ráma. Repenting of his rashness, Lakshmana asked forgiveness, offering at the same time to throw himself into a large fire as an expiation for his crime. He shot an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks, when a large fire flared up into which he threw himself. In order to save his

[1] [Errata: the words "and pressure" should be omitted. see corrigenda, cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

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brother, Ráma immediately created a river, which up to the present day is called Lakshmanatírtha, but it was too late. Ráma afterwards desired to consecrate the spot and ordered Hanuman to bring a Linga from Kási (Benáres) within one hour and a half. During his absence Ráma, fearing that Hanuman would not be back in time, made a Linga himself of river-sand, in which operation he was surprised by Hanuman, who flew into a rage for having troubled himself in vain. He twisted his enormous tail round one of the neighbouring hills, *Hanumanbetta*, and attempted to upset it. Ráma, to comfort the furious monkey-god, assured him that Hanuman's Linga should become even more famous than his own. So the new Linga was set up at Hérumálu and the festive day of its worship precedes that of the Linga at Irpu!

In April and December there are játres to the *Iggudappa-kunda* in Padinálknád, where Tulu-Brahmins have a temple and receive the oblations of the Coorgs. It often happens, that a sick Coorg vows his weight in rice to that temple, and, no doubt, the heavier the man the more acceptable and effective the gift!

On the *Hattur hill* or *Kuntada-betta* in Betiednád there is an annual játre in honor of Isvara or Siva who has there a little stone-temple dedicated to him. In 1853 the dilapidated temple was rebuilt at the expense of the Takkas and headmen of Betiednád and their names are written on a stone slab in the temple, which is only 15 feet square, but substantially built with a Linga in front. It stands near the brink of the precipice which is about 500 feet deep and whence a beautiful view is obtained over Kiggatnád. There is also a remarkable stone on the very edge of the precipice about 2 feet broad and 5 feet long, where childless or unmarried people bring offerings of betel leaves, perform worship and turn three times round, believing that this ceremony will insure issue to the barren woman, or a suitable partner to the unmarried youth.

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as with the feast there is connected a cattle-fair and the sale of superior metal vessels and idols; *Baitur* in Malabar to which in January chiefly the people of Beppunád and Yedenalknád proceed, they also send rice to the temple; *Payavur* also in Malabar, and especially supported and in February visited by the Katiednád-Coorgs, who send from one to ten butties of rice per house; *Nanchanagódu* in Mysore which comes off in December.

f. Dévastánas, Mattas and Muajids.

The Coorg Dévastánas or Pagodas are mostly of an insignificant character; none is distinguished for great antiquity or structural beauty; most of them are but rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roofs within a gloomy grove and not calling for any particular description. A passing notice may be, perhaps, bestowed on the *Omkarésvara-dévastána*[1] at Mercara, which stands in a hollow just below the Superintendent's Court and is built in the same style as the Rajahs' tombs, but with a small tank in the temple yard. From the centre of the tank a pretty little pavilion rises, which is connected with the land by a balustrated passage. The priests or pújáries of these places are chiefly Tulu, Havige and Karnátaka-Brahmins; the former are divided into 3 branches: the Kótu, Kandávara, and Shivalli-Brahmins, which latter are the most numerous in Coorg. The Havige-Brahmins are Smártaru, residing near Honore in North Canara whose native tongue is Canarese. They worship both Vishnu and Siva, and the marks on their foreheads are put horizontally. The Karnátaka-Brahmins are immigrants from Mysore.

There are altogether 863 pagodas or temples in Coorg and 57 Mattas or Jangams, of the total of which places 549 share a Government contribution of 13,800 Rupees annually in cash and 9,474 Rupees worth of remitted assessment from endowed landed property; 372 places only are maintained by

[1] [Errata: This should read 'Onkarésvara-dévastána". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Musjids.—There are but 5 small Musjids in Coorg, erected by the Mussulmans residing here, whose number does not much exceed one thousand. They are mostly poor people and live chiefly in Mercara, Virájpet and Fraserpet.

728 795

g. The Amma-Codagas.

795 797

In connection with the preceding subjects, it is natural, to enquire into the condition of the indigenous priesthood. It is clear, that the present intermixture of Hinduism with the more simple religious practices of the Coorgs points back to a time, when the encroaching Brahmins had to encounter popular superstition, upheld by an indigenous priesthood, whose direct descendants the present "Amma-Codagas" seem to be. In language, manners and costume they are hardly to be distinguished from other Coorgs, but are less favoured in appearance; many of them wear the brahminical cord, and all abstain from animal food and fermented liquor. They [582] intermarry with their own people only, a custom which may perhaps hasten their gradual diminution and total extinction, as they constitute but a small portion of the whole population. There are altogether 42 Amma-Codaga houses with 281 in- [162] habitants of whom 97 are men, 90 women and 94 children. They live chiefly in Kiggatnád and Padinálknád, 21 families in the former and 16 in the latter taluq. Like the other [464] Coorgs they are agriculturists and only 3 are in Government service. Their name "Amma-Codaga" or Mother-Coorgs i. e. Coorgs belonging to Mother Kávéri denotes them as men devoted to Kávéri or as priests. With the rest of the Coorg [184] tribe they celebrate in the same manner the great Kávéri and Huttari festivals, but of course as priests performing púja in their own houses, for they have nothing to do with the Kávéri temple. They have no sacred books or shastras, nor do they exercise any spiritual influence over the people. The history [793] of the old Coorg-priests is shrouded in obscurity. They seem [174]

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795 They seem
174 to have been of a rude character like the priests of ancient
793 Britain and Germany, untractable and disinclined to adopt
foreign culture. But the subtilty of the Brahmins gradually
[779] instilled into their minds some priestly notions which made
them aspire after superior sanctity by adopting the sacred
cord and a brahminical diet. It is said, that Timmappeyah,
a Havige-Brahmin, and brother-in-law of the late Rajah, who
died in 1868, as Karnika or Treasurer, gained such an influ-
ence over the Amma-Codagas, that many of them resolved
upon laying aside the Coorg costume and imitating the
Brahmins in dress and diet. There are even men amongst
the Coorgs who under brahminical influence strive after some
sort of sanctity by abstaining from the use of liquors and
meat diet and by advancing brahminical interests. Brahmi-
793 nism in Coorg, which found no favour with the Rajahs, ap-
779 pears to be in the ascendency under the liberal patronage of
177 the British Government. If it were not for the rich stipends,
[648] drawn from Government by the brahminical institutions in
[659] Mercara and Táwunád, their present existence would be more
than doubtful. Left to the support of the Coorgs alone, they
would long ago have succumbed to starvation, for the essen-
tial Coorg customs and religious practices can have little in
common with Brahminism. There are old Coorgs who never
once went to the Tale-Kávéri játre or had Brahmins perform
any ceremony for them in their houses. All their lifetime
they could do very well without them. Now the Brahmins
find their stanchest supporters chiefly in Kiggatnád taluq
and generally amongst the middle-aged Coorgs, and amongst
such families whose reception by and assimilation with the
Coorg-clan dates back to but recent generations. With them
Brahmins are in requisition on many occasions. At the birth
[844] of a Coorg child, they ceremoniously purify the defiled house
[783] by sprinkling holy water within and without, for which they
receive a gift in rice. At the Coorg wedding the Pújári of

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the village or nád offers Prasáda and whilst throwing a flower-garland over the bridegroom's neck, he mutters a blessing, for which pious act he afterwards receives a gift in money. In case of illness Brahmins are sent for, to implore the deity for recovery. In a place set apart in the compound they perform their ceremonies and, if the patient gets well, they are amply rewarded. At a housewarming (griha-pravésha) it has become the fashion among the Coorgs to invite Brahmins and to give them a good meal and presents. The expenses incurred amount from a small sum to upwards of a thousand Rupees. The Puróhita or officiating Brahmin kindles a fire of jackwood (hebalasu) in the middle room, throws ghee and rice into the flame and repeats some mantras as required for the occasion. Thus we see, that Brahminism invades every accessible opening in Coorg life, and pandering to the ignorance and pride of the Coorgs, it is more successful than the great truths of Christianity. It is, however, to be hoped, that education along with other civilizing influences will do its work, to dissipate the darkness of ignorance and superstition and help to free the Coorgs from the trammels of priestly imposition.

To acknowledge the indigenous Coorg priesthood and yet account for its degraded state as compared with the erudition of the twice-born, the Brahmins invented the following legend, which is not in harmony with the Kávéri-Purána:—The sage Kávéra as a reward for his austerities was blessed with a daughter Kávéri, whom he promised in marriage to Agastia another sage, who also resided on the Brahmagiris. Kávéri did not accept the proposal and assuming the shape of a river fled from the mountain. Agastia in hot persuit overtook her in Katiednád and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma-Kodagas and six of Coorgs; the former took the part of Agastia, the latter that of Kávéri. The Amma-Codagas

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decided, that Kávéri should not be allowed to proceed; but the Coorgs declared, that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. The enraged Agastia Muni pronounced a curse upon the Coorgs, that the generation of Coorgs should decrease, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow and that their cows should not give milk. Kávéri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could in the following words: "the Coorg shall increase, but the Amma-Codagas decrease; the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted and the cows be milked after the calves have drunk." So saying she tried to escape, and on being held by Agastia by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed rapidly away. Hence the place, where this occurred, was called Balamári (turning to the right). A linga has been erected near the spot by the Brahmins and it is yearly visited in Tulámása at the time of the Kávéri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda-Virájender built here also a rest-house, which, though over 60 years old, is still in tolerable preservation.

The only object this legend can have is, not to clear up the origin of the indigenous priesthood of Coorg, but to obscure and bury it under the rubbish of Puranic lore which eludes every historical investigation.

7. ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS IN COORG.

a. Palaces.

Besides the *Mercara-Palace*, there are two other Aramanes, one at *Nálknád* and the other in *Halerinád*, but neither is remarkable for extent or elegance. The palace at Nálknád

[Errata: This should read "The Coorgs shall." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

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was built by Dodda-Virájender in 1794 and formed in those days an almost inaccessible small mountain-fortress, defended by strong barriers along the steep approaches. Now it is partly turned into the nád Cutcherry[1] and the upper rooms are reserved for visiting Government Officials. In front of the palace near the right corner stands in tolerable preservation a handsome little pavilion (Dáremandappa), which was erected for the celebration of Dodda-Virájender's second marriage with Mahadévamma in February 1796. Under proper management the land belonging to the palace might be turned into fertile and profitable vegetable gardens or other plantations. The palace at Halerinád is built after the plan of other Coorg houses on a larger scale only and secured by breastworks and barriers. 344

The Palace in Mercara, thoroughly repaired during the last two years and an iron roof put on at an expense of 80,000 Rupees, is a conspicuous building of modern date. According to an inscription on a metal plate in one of the palace-rooms it was commenced on the first day of the new moon of the Bhádrapada month (15th August—15th September) in 1735 of the Sáliváhana era i. e. in 1812 and completed in 2 years and 1 month by Lingarájendra Vodeya, the younger brother of Dodda-Virájender. The inscription concludes: "The pious, who praise Almighty God, by whose grace this "magnificent palace was constructed after the removal of the "rugged hill-top, shall enjoy eternal happiness in this world "and in the world to come."

The ground plan of the palace is that of a Coorg house with a superstructure in European fashion. It forms a large square of 200 feet with an open space in the centre, is 2 stories high and presents a fine front. A range of arches runs nearly along the whole extent of the bottom part, the upper having a contiguous row of windows shut in by glass sashes and venetian blinds, the centre window projecting into a small [177]

[1] [Errata: This should read "Kachéri." see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 — Analyst]

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194 [197] It is remarkable that a similar system of half letters obtains also in Tulu, Tamil and Malayálam; it would appear, that both Tulu and Kodagu are in a medium and transition stage between the comparatively vowelless old Canarese and the sonorous new Canarese.

The Canarese short and long *i* before cerebrals and the terminal *u* are in Kodagu pronounced *ü;* Ex. Can. ಇಡು, Kg. ಇಡ್ಡ್ = to put.

The Canarese short and long *e* is before cerebrals pronounced *ö*, but before a double cerebral the short *e* in Canarese is changed into *o*; e. g. Can. ಏಳು, Kg. ಓಳ್ = seven; Can. pettige, Kg. pottï = box.

A slight nasal sound occurs at the end of the word avang instead of the Canarese avanu = he.

Soft and hard consonants are often interchanged and single consonants doubled; e. g. Kg. undu for Can. untu = are, Kg. ikka for Can. iga = now.

Compound consonants are separated; e. g. Can. chandra Kg. chanduvŏ = moon; Can. yentha Kg. yennatŏ. The letter ಶ (sha) becomes ಜ (ja); e. g. Can. désha, Kg. dêja = country; ಸ (sa) becomes ಚ (cha); e. g. Can. sûrya, Kg. chûriyŏ. The Canarese letter ಹ (ha) at the beginning of a word retains the old Canarese form ಪ (pa); e. g. Can. ಹಿಡಿ hiḍi, Kg. ಪಿಡ್ pïḍï = to seize.

193 The noun and verbal roots are in Kodagu chiefly mono- and dissyllables, that may be traced back to old Canarese or to the common Dravidian stock; there are however also many Sanscrit words, which as Tadbhavas are by Coorg pronunciation tortured into queer forms. The intercourse of the Coorgs with the Mussulmans has naturally enriched their language also with Hindustáni expressions.

[197] [129] Taking now a rapid glance over the grammatical forms of the Kodagu language, I would refer for further instruction to Captain Cole's Elementary Coorg Grammar, which gives

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The people learn them by heart or by writing, using, as already observed, the Canarese alphabet. Some of them, as the Harvest and the Wedding Chant, which show the Kodagu dialect in all its peculiarities, seem to be very old and their authors are unknown. The latter mentions the country as being divided into 35 Nâds or districts, and consequently must have existed previous to the events related in the Râjendranâme, in which the country is differently divided and which begins with the year 1633. Others are of a more recent date and contain numerous modern Canarese expressions. In fact with slight modifications the set poetical phrases of the old stock serve the Coorg bard on any occasion for new compositions; but these are usually local and trivial and obtain no circulation. The author of the epic song on the war with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, which, however, has no poetical merit, is Boppanda Mâdeya who died in 1868; and the Queen's Song, which testifies to the loyalty of the Coorgs, was composed by Chôkandra Appeya in 1839. Of these songs little was known until my late Assistant, Mr. Graeter, took up the subject and after his study of the Kodagu dialect made them accessible to the English reader in the translation given.

Reflecting the Coorg mind in its own language, and uninfluenced by European culture, these songs are highly interesting and in their simple beauty often evince considerable poetical merit, whilst others please by the vein of hearty good humour, that runs through their lines.

The rules of Hindu versification do not apply to the Coorg songs; these are cast in a less artistic mould and have something of the free mountain air about them. It is true, they move not in the gay, iambic foot; the more dignified trochaic measure suits the Coorg mind better; each line contains 7 or 8 syllables, but the accent is not carefully observed, nor is there either rhyme or alliteration. In its simple form the

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III. PART.

The History of Coorg.

1. THE LEGENDARY PERIOD OF THE KĀVÉRI-PURĀNA.

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The ancient annals of Coorg history are the Kávéri-Purána which forms an episode in 4 chapters (11—14) of the Skanda- or Kártikéya-Purána; but in a brahminical legend we must not look for the simple record of a popular tradition. The Brahmins, the creative minds of the old Indian literature, had it in their power to mould any original tradition into whatever shape they pleased for the furtherance of their own interests.

It has ever been their policy, as gods terrestrial, to lay claim to the whole Indian world, their great champion Parshuráma having presented to their Patriarch Kashiyappa as a gift the conquered earth, the Jambudwípa, after the defeat of the Kshetrias and the destruction of their 18 tribes. The primitive gods of the nations of Jambudwípa or India were either turned into Avatáras of Vishnu or incorporated as Demons with the host of Siva, the high mountains were peopled with celebrated Rishis or hermits, and the mightiest and most fertilizing rivers brought into relationship with the principal brahminical deities. Ganga and Kávéri fell to the lot of Siva; Krishna and Gódáveri were sacred to Vishnu.

The Kávéri-Purána or Kávéri-Mahátmya (glorification of Kávéri) describes the sacred river from its source to its union

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with the sea and enumerates the holy bathing places and the temples on its banks. The Purána had naturally to treat also of Coorg, where the Kávéri rises, and accomplished the task as it would best suit brahminical interests. This was no easy matter. We have seen, how ill the tough materials of the wild world of Coorg suited brahminical taste; how these illiterate and untamable hunters seem to have ever had an instinctive antipathy to, and thorough contempt for, the sanctities and pretensions of the smooth and crafty Brahmins and that these were not slow in returning the compliment has been described in former pages.

The author of the Kávéri-Mahátmya, of which a Canarese translation has been made in 1864 by Srínivásayengar at the desire and expense of the late Head Sheristadar, Biddianda Nanchappa, does not appear to have been very skilful; for anticipating no serious criticism he allowed his fancy to run away with his better judgment.

The story of the invisible river Sujyóti, joining the Kánake and Kávéri is a lame imitation of the northern tale, that Sarasvati, a stream of great renown among the Brahmins, is not lost, as it seems, in the desert sands, but joins the Ganges and the Jumna (Yamuna), unseen, at Prayága. The holy Sarasvati must have an end worthy of its sanctity. But here in the Kávéri-Purána the third, altogether invisible, stream Sujyóti is an idle fable introduced only to complete a southern trinity of holy rivers. The extraordinary anachronism of Párvati's blessing given to Chandravarma, the founder of the Coorg people, who is thereby rendered victorious over the Mlechas or Turks, who made their first appearance about 500 years ago, transgresses even the thoughtless audacity of a Purána; for the Purána belongs according to its own account to the age of the Rishis, who were long extinct, when the Turks appeared. The numerous passages, inculcating the duty of the valiant Coorgs, to offer to the Brahmins the honors

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and gifts due to them, have met with singularly bad success. The Coorgs, it would appear, never troubled themselves much about the contents and the admonitions of the Kávéri book, and, though the translation of it was designed to make it accessible to them, it is so highly spiced with Sanscrit and old Canarese expressions, that few do understand it.

The Kávéri-Purána seeks to glorify the holy river. Its divine origin, its connection with the Rishi Agastya, (the settler of the Vindhya-mountain-range, the great son of both Mitra and Varuna), and its course through the eastern country into the sea in obedience to the counsel of Agastya, all conspire to give it a character of surpassing sanctity.

The seizure of the Amrita, the produce of the ocean-churning by the Asuras, spread consternation and despair among the hosts of the gods. They invoked the great Vishnu, the lord of all. He had compassion on them. From him Móhini emanated,—Lakshmi at the same time sending forth Lópámudre (a form of Párvati),—charmed the Asuras by her transcendent beauty, and restored the drink of immortality to the gods. After having delivered the gods, she retired to Brahmagiri—where the sources of the Kávéri now are—and was changed into a rocky cave. Lópámudre was given to Brahma, who brought her up as his daughter. Thus ends the first act, the scene (true Purána fashion) being laid in the heavens. The second act passes to the earth. Kavéra Muni retires to Brahmagiri, there to give himself wholly to meditation on Brahma. He asks Brahma for children. Brahma—how could he refuse the prayer of his devout Rishi?—gives him Lópámudre for a daughter. She, in order to procure beatitude for her new father, resolves on becoming a river, pouring out blessings on the earth, and all the merits arising from this course of devoted goodness, are to be appropriated to Kavéra Muni. For this purpose she resorts to one of the heights of Brahmagiri and invokes Brahma, to give her the

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privilege, when turned into a river, of absolving all people bathing in the holy waters, from every sin they may have committed. Brahma, of course, grants this blessing to his daughter. Now another person appears upon the stage, who is to control the future course of Kavéra Muni's daughter. While Kávéri is still absorbed in her devotions, the great Rishi Agastya espies her, and forthwith asks her to become his wife. Though longing after the fulfilment of her vow, she consents to live with Agastya, under the condition, however, that she shall be at liberty to forsake him, whenever she is left alone. One day Agastya went to bathe in the river Kánake, leaving Kávéri near his own holy tank, guarded by his disciples. Thus deserted by Agastya against his promise, she plunged into the holy tank and flowed forth from it a beautiful river. The disciples tried to stay her course. She went under ground. At Bhágandakshétra she appeared again, and flowed on towards Valamburi. When Agastya, on his return, saw what had happened, he ran after Kávéri, begged her pardon, and entreated her to return and to remain with him. Unwilling to change her mind, yet loth to grieve Agastya, Kávéri divided herself, one half flowing off a river, the other half staying with the Rishi. Agastya then explained to the River-half, which road to take to the eastern sea, enumerating all the holy places lying in the way of the new stream.

Previous to this origin of the Kávéri river, a Brahmin, Suyajna, performed great devotions to Vishnu at Dhátripura, a spot near the fountain of the Kávéri. Vishnu appeared to him. Suyajna asked the god, to give him Mukti, (beatitude i. e. in the Hindu sense, loss of consciousness, even of self; individuality being the source of sin and misery) and to render him a benefactor of the world. Vishnu gave him Sujyóti for a daughter, and told him, "*she* will be a benefactress of the world, and *her* merit shall be thine. Go to the Agni Hill.

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Kánake, a servant of Dévéndra, lives there. Into her charge give Sujyóti, and do thou attend to thy devotions". Suyajna fulfilled the command of Vishnu. Sujyóti joined Kánake in her meditations. After a while Dévéndra came on a visit, and asked Sujyóti to become his wife. She promised to obey; but secretly she opened her mind to Kánake and told her, what grief she felt at having to be Dévéndra's wife instead of becoming a river. Both of them set off immediately as two streams, Kánake and Sujyóti. Dévéndra finding himself cheated, cursed Sujyóti, and said: let thy waters disappear. Whereupon Sujyóti begged his forgiveness, when Dévéndra, pitying her, said: when Kávéri will appear, you and Kánake may join her and in her company go to the great sea. This word of Dévéndra was fulfilled, when Kávéri flowed forth from the holy tank of Agastya. 539 177

(There are only two streams, let it be remembered, which join at Bhágamandala. The Kávéri runs under ground for some distance, which is accounted for in the Purána by the interference of Agastya's disciples.) [133]

Now follows a glowing description of all the holy country. In the eleventh chapter Sanaka and the other Rishis ask Sútapuránika about the country, in which the sources of the river Kávéri are. What name has it? they inquire; and what is the origin of the name? What are the frontiers of the country, its customs, its tribes?

To these questions Sútapuránika replies by repeating the account given in times of old to the king Dharmavarma by the Rishi Dalbhya. The frontiers of the country are these:— it lies to the west of Rámanáthapura; (thither the earth in the form of a cow went to implore Shiva's help against the Rákshasas, who destroyed her; her stony form is still to be seen there, says the bard. There Ráma, to atone for his murder of the Brahma-descended Rávana, consecrated in Shiva's name the holy Linga), to the north of the renowned Parshuráma's

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539 Kshétra (holy land); three gávuda (6 leagues) to the east of
97 the western sea; to the south of Kanva Rishi's habitation. From east to west it measures 6 yójana (72 miles), from north to south 3 yójana (36 miles).

[101] The country has three names: the first, *Brahmakshétra*; the second, *Matsyadésha*; the third, *Kródadésha*. The origin of these names is as follows:—

a. When Brahma performed his pilgrimage over the world, i. e. India, he came to Sahyádri, where he saw a strange sight. A Nelli tree (Phyllanthus emblica) stood before him spreading a hundred boughs. As he looked at the tree, he beheld the form of Vishnu with shell, discus and club. The next moment, when he fixed his eye upon it, he saw nothing but a bare tree. Upon this Brahma worshipped Vishnu many days, pouring upon the tree out of his holy vessel water from the Virajá river. (This river is not to be found in modern geography; it runs beyond the seven seas, which surround the world). On this account the country, from which the holy river Kávéri springs, has been named Brahmakshétra.

b. Of the second name two accounts are given. There is a mountain called Halfinoon in this country, the bard says. Near it there is a holy spring. In it Vishnu took the form of a fish and worshipped Shiva. Shiva blessed the fish with immortality, and Vishnu gave the country the name of the Fish-country (Matsyadésha). The second account contains the root of Coorg tradition. Siddhártha the king of the renowned Matsyadésha, had four sons. They were learned, heroic, strong in battle. The first of them longed to rule his father's kingdom. The second was addicted to pleasure, and served his elder brother. The third had a turn for philosophy. The fourth, the most talented of the four, gave himself to ascetic exercises and visited all the Tírthas (places of holy water washing away sin), but he felt also a strong desire after dominion, and was fond of worldly pleasure. His name was

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Chandravarma. In due time he took leave of his father and set out to seek his fortune. He was accompanied by a goodly army. He visited in turn many of the holy places, Jagannáth, Tirupati, Kanchi (Conjeveram), Chidambara. At Shríranga he worshipped Ranganátha. At Dhanushkóti he bathed according to the precepts of the Shástras. Thence to Rámésh-vara, to Anantashayana (Cochin), at last to Brahmádri. Here he dismissed his army and devoted himself to the worship of Párvati. Pleased with the fervent worshipper, the goddess appeared to him, and permitted him to ask a boon. Chandra-varma replied: "I desire a kingdom, better than my father's. I desire a wife of my own caste and a fruitful mother of children. I desire victory over mine enemies, I desire entrance into Shiva's heaven after death." Párvati replied: "all your desires shall be fulfilled, except the second. On account of the sins of a former life, you cannot obtain children born of a wife of your own caste. This wish you must forego in this life, in another life it may be fulfilled. You shall, however, have a wife of your own caste, and be enabled to fulfill every holy rite. But, besides her, you shall have a Shúdra wife." Saying this, she created a Shúdra woman, twelve years old, adorned with every charm, and gave her to Chandravarma. He received her at the hand of Párvati, "but," said he full of sorrow, "what will be the use to me of Shúdra children? I shall not have a real full-born son, and shall be debarred from heaven. What then is a kingdom to me? What is to me enjoyment? What then shall I do with this girl? Take back this woman, O Párvati!" Párvati says: "give up your sorrow, O Chandravarma. Through my grace thou shalt be happy in this life and in the life to come. Hear my word! Eleven sons shall be born unto thee. They will not be Shúdras. Being children of a Kshetriya father and a Shúdra mother, they will be called Ugra (fierce men). They will be valiant men, worshippers of myself and Shiva,

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539 righteous, true and faithful, devoted to the Brahmins, fit to
177 rule, honored by kings, in every respect, except the possession of the four Védas and six Angas, equal to the Kshetriyas. They will be thy joy in this life and in the next. In this holy country I will appear, in due time, a river rich in blessings, the daughter of Brahma, the daughter of Kavéra Muni, the wife of Agastya. From the sacred tank of the Rishi, near the roots of the holy Nelli tree, in the month of Tulá, I will flow forth and give many blessings to thy sons from love to thee. The country is dear to me as mine eye. Mléchchhas have now rule over it, enemies of gods and Brahmins, destroyers of elephants and other living things, subverters of the law, sword-handed, wrathful, of terrific valour, with frightful bodies, a burden of the earth, the offspring of drunkenness. By my grace go forth to conquer them. Do thou become the king of this land, uphold the laws and establish holy Brahmins." Párvati gave him a victorious sword, a white horse, quick as wind, and an army, and sent him against the Mléchchhas (Turks). Upon this Párvati disappeared. Chandravarma, by Párvati's blessing, overcame the Mléchchhas. Then he collected his army, all the Rishis and all the Brahmins, to celebrate his marriage with a woman of his own caste, according to the Shástras. Both the king and the queen were crowned by the Rishis and Brahmins. Chandravarma now gave houses and lands to the Brahmins, and called also other tribes to settle in his kingdom. The country was called Matsyadésha, because a son of the king of Matsyadésha was its first king.

c. The third name of the country is Kródadésha. The following account is given of its origin. Chandravarma was the best of kings. His Kshetriya queen was barren, but his Shúdra wife bore him eleven sons. The first-born of them was Dévakánta. He and all his brothers were brought up according to the word of Párvati. Like Kshetriyas they re-

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ceived the name, the holy cord and the tonsure, with due ceremonies. When they arrived at maturity, Chandravarma was anxious to obtain for them wives worthy of such princes. He heard, that the king of Vidarbhadésha had a hundred daughters born of Shúdra mothers. Ambassadors were sent to Vidarbha Ráya, who cheerfully agreed to give his daughters in marriage to the valiant sons of Chandravarma. He himself accompanied them to the mountains of the Matsya country and to the palace of Chandravarma. A great royal marriage-feast ensued. Dévakánta, the first-born of Chandravarma, received twenty of Vidarbha Ráya's daughters in marriage. The second son sixteen, the third twelve, the fourth ten, the fifth and sixth each eight, the seventh and eighth princes received each seven of the princesses, and to each of the three youngest sons of Chandravarma four of the daughters of Vidarbha Ráya were given. When all the festivities were concluded, Vidarbha Ráya returned to his own country, but a good number of his people stayed with his daughters in the country of their adoption. Chandravarma's family multiplied greatly. Vidarbha Ráya's daughters became, by the blessing of Párvati, fruitful mothers. When age came upon Chandravarma, he grew tired of the world and of his kingdom. He called his sons together, placed the crown on Dévakánta's head, exhorted his sons to love and union, and retired with his two wives to the Himálaya, there to spend the rest of his days in the worship of Párvati and self-mortifying exercises. Before his departure, he told his sons and grandsons, that Párvati would soon be born in their country as the holy river Kávéri; "and you will be happy," he added, "as long as you abide in the worship of Brahmins, of Shiva and of Párvati."

Dévakánta was now king. All the houses of Chandravarma's sons abounded in children. Each of them had more than a hundred sons. They were all mighty men of valour, strong of arm and foot. Their nails resembled the fangs of

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boars. Ere long there was not room enough for them. The produce of their fields did not suffice to feed them. But they righted themselves soon. They went out to prepare new fields for themselves. With the nails of their strong hands and feet they tore up the ground and levelled the slopes of the hills with the valleys in a circumference of five yójanas. Then they settled themselves anew in the country, the face of which they had changed by the strength of their own arms. Around them they planted houses and families of Brahmins and other castes. Because this re-establishment of the country resembled the renowned deeds of the Varáhávatára (the boar-incarnation of Vishnu), the country of Chandravarma's sons was henceforth called Kródadésha, and its inhabitants Króda people. This word Króda is said to have been changed and corrupted by degrees into Kodagu, which is the present, and probably was the original, name of the country.

From the time of the departure and prophecy of Chandravarma, his sons and their people waited for the appearance of the holy river Kávêri. Two days before Tulásankramana (the time of the sun entering the sign of Libra) Párvati appeared in a dream to king Dévakánta, and ordered him to assemble his whole people in a place, called Valamburi. There she would appear to them. Accordingly the whole tribe assembled at Valamburi. The river came rushing down the valley, and the assembled Coorgs bathed in the fresh flood. The violence of the stream turned off the knots of the women's dresses round to their backs, and the Coorg women (says the Purána) wear their gowns in this fashion until this day, in remembrance of the first bathing of the Coorgs in the water of the Kávéri at Valamburi. In the middle of the stream, Párvati appeared in person. "Ask a boon of me," she cried. The Coorgs asked for fecundity, for dominion, for riches and for a priest. Párvati answered: "well; a priest

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you will find near the fountain of the Kávéri, a friend of my father Kavéraráya, who has for three lives worshipped me" ('three lives' does not here mean, father, son and grandson, but three actual lives of the same person, who worshipped Párvati until his death, and, when he was born again according to Hindu theory, spent his second life, and after that his third life, in the service of the goddess.) The Coorgs went and found him at the sources of the Kávéri. He taught them during a whole month, which they spent there, how to prepare food for their ancestors, and other holy rites. Since that day all the Coorgs assemble each year in the month of Tulá (October—November) to celebrate the great festival of their tribe in honour of Kávéri.

2. POPULAR TRADITION.

Disappointed by the extravagant brahminical legends regarding the origin and early history of the Coorgs, we naturally expect, that the Coorg bards, who in their Palamés so graphically and with truthful simplicity depict the domestic and social events of Coorg life, would with equal artlessness have preserved the early pages of their country's history; but Coorg shares in the general fate of primitive Indian history—the dark ages are left with hardly a ray of reassuring light. Coorg tradition has been supplanted by Brahminism and what information one is able to obtain is in most cases but a faint echo of the legends of the Kávéri Purána or some other brahminical imposition. There is, however, one story free from this imputation, and it is of considerable value as it throws light on the origin of some of the Coorg deities, who are not the creations of brahminical fancy, though their shrines are now presided over by Brahmins. The story is taken from oral tradition, and runs thus:—In ancient times there lived in the Malabar country six brothers and a sister.

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174 stances, the nucleus of brahminical legends and Coorg traditions.

[101] The name "Coorg", which is a corruption of the native name "Kodagu" needs not the elaborate and forced derivation of the Kávéri-Purána however well it may have served its purpose to mystify the natives. "Kodi" means in the Coorg dialect a top or peak, and Kodagu in Canarese signifies the same, so that "Kodagu" is emphatically the *Mountainous country*.

[197] [191] We have seen that the Coorg language and the ante-brahminical demon- and ancestor-worship are rooted in the Dravidian stock; we need therefore not go beyond the Dravidian family, to seek the origin of the Coorgs. They are certainly not the offspring of the Kshetria Pándus, as some brahminised Coorgs would have it, for the Pándus had perished in the snows of the Himalayas centuries before the Coorgs through the Mahá Bhárata even heard of their existence. It is however not unlikely, that the Coorgs were somehow connected with the Pándya kingdom which flourished in the south of India perhaps in the fifth century before Christ; but the Mahá Bhárata Pándus have nothing to do with this Pándyan kingdom, whose rulers were not Kshetrias, but belonged to the agricultural class. Like the Nairs in [564] Malabar, the Bants and Tulu Gaudas in Canara and the [197] Vokkaligas and Gaudas of Nagara, the Coorgs are—in the brahminical scale—Súdras. The original inhabitants of Coorg 174 were very likely a branch of the cognate South-Indian tribes, 167 and their number may have been augmented by immigrants from the countries just named, who settled at various periods, perhaps under the pressure of national calamities, or attracted by the sheltering forests and fertile soil of Coorg. The now ruined fort Pálpáre five miles to the east of Ponapét in Kiggatnád, is said to have been built by the Béda- or hunter-tribe; the tradition of the Padinalknád Coorgs already na-

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when feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon
his followers instead of the voluntary Dhúli-batta (dusty-grain) 175
a regular tax of one and a half butty of rice and nine annas 643
eight pies in cash per house per annum. His next step was 648
to call upon the people, in alternate parties to guard his dwelling on the Háleri farm. These watchmen were called *Chaudigara*, a name ever afterwards retained for the Coorg Rájahs' troops. Having openly declared himself and being acknowledged by his adherents ruler of Háleri and of the surrounding Náds, the Padinalknád Karanembáu Náyaka also submitted and so did the others under the condition, that they should receive three-fourths of the revenue and pay one-fourth to the Háleri chief. His increasing power soon threatened 643
the safety of the Coorg Náyakas, who at last were put 648
to death and the whole country brought under the Háleri 174
government. 177

That the Coorg Rájahs were aliens to the country is evident from the fact, that they were Lingaites, whilst the Coorgs [795]
maintained their own crude form of demon- and ancestor-worship and rarely joined the Shivácháries. [791]
These are most numerous in north-east Coorg where the people are closely allied with the Mysoreans, and where the influence of the Rájahs was naturally greatest. Again in Padinalknád the Malayálam element seems to be predominant, whilst in Táwunád, Benganád and Surlabimuttanád the Tulu Gaudas and Bants make their influence felt. If a further proof were [144]
required to show that the Coorgs are a mixed race, I need only mention, that besides the striking difference in features and colour of the Coorgs, varying between the Caucasian and Mongolian physiognomy and between a fair and dark skin, the house-names also of many Coorg families clearly point to Mysore, Tamil, Malayálam or Tulu origin. Even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received [578]
by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggatnád, who ten years

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ago were, by the Head-Sheristadar Nanchappa, received as Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan by the rest of the Coorg people. The settlement of the dispute will perhaps be only a matter of time, but not of intrinsic caste spirit which as such is inconsistent with the notorious Coorg practice of assimilating cognate tribes into one clan, and with the fact, that during the Seringapatam captivity of thousands of Coorg families by Tippu Sultan, most of them were forcibly made Mussulmans and, though on the return to their country, they abjured Islam, the very process of circumcision deprived them of their previous caste—in a brahminical sense—and rendered that of their descendents defective. The renown of the Coorgs lies certainly not in the purity and antiquity of their genealogy, but in the union and strength of so many discordant elements into one compact body or clan, that bravely fought on every occasion of danger for the honour and safety of their adopted country, whether under the leadership of their own Náyakas or their alien Rájahs, and there can be no doubt that they would in time of need, with equal loyalty rally round the standard of their English Rulers!

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To the question, how such a conglomerate of divers tribes could have been formed into an almost homogenous body, I would reply, that what might perhaps have been impossible amongst a civilized and politically powerful state, was a comparatively easy process in a small uncivilized and secluded hill-country, which, seldom influenced by the politics of its more powerful neighbours, and in blissful ignorance undisturbed by subtle religious disputes, vented its savage strength in intestine feuds, till the despotic hand of the alien usurper subjected the turbulent chiefs, and united them and their adherents in deadly combat against common foes or for marauding expeditions. Their defeats as well as their achievements originated and strengthened national sympathies which time matured into a healthy spirit of clanship, that asserted

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tance resembles on old Gothic ruin in England. The Rájah's Subadar gave us a curry, rice, fruit, vegetables, &c. and even sent us two China plates and one copper spoon. He had previously furnished us with a table and two chairs. On the 19th we set out at three A. M., and proceeded to the Kávéri, which we reached at seven A. M., and crossed in boats, the stream being about six feet deep. The banks are exceedingly high and steep, and a strong barrier is placed on the left bank, called Angree.....We found the fort of Mercara completely repaired, and, passing it, took up our abode in the old place, at a quarter-past twelve, having been nine hours and a quarter on the road; the last five on elephants. We then had our breakfast and took a sleep, after which mounted two fine horses, and paid our respects to the Mahá Swámi. He received us in his usual manner, in his palace, having sent off his camp equipage, &c. to give us a shooting party in the interior. No general officer's uniform this time; but he looked well, and was very kind and attentive. He shewed us two lions, two tigers, two wild buffaloes, and a royal tiger-cub; then a gun, completely made, and highly finished, by his own smith; and I really never saw a more elegant fowling-piece. After sitting nearly two hours with him we took our leave; and when our dinner was served up, two of his fiddlers made their appearance and regaled us with English tunes! In short, every thing apes England in this most extraordinary place. We, two plain soldiers, sat down to a roasted goose, and twenty other dishes, and drank a bottle of English claret between us; rejecting, to the amazement of the beholders, Madeira, beer, hock, &c. all of which they expected us to swallow.

"On the 20th of October we rose with the lark, and took a walk, first to the Mausoleum, and afterwards to the horse and elephant stables. The little white elephant had grown considerably, but his skin was getting darker, and he appeared to be in bad health. Lieutenant Davies joined us here from

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

B. THE ADMINISTRATION OF COORG.

1. SUBDIVISION OF COORG FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES, SKETCH OF THE SEVERAL TALUQS AND TOWNS.

631 On the assumption of Coorg by the British Government, [177] the existing administrative organisation of the country, hallowed by age and routine, was as little as possible interfered with; but in progress of time such changes took place, as were deemed necessary for the better administration of the province. At present Coorg is divided into six taluqs and twenty-four nâds, each of which is again subdivided into grâmas or villages, which in "Coorg Proper" are made up of a number of vargas or farms rather, than of a number of houses joined into one community, for, as already observed, the Coorgs live on detached farms. In Yélusávirashímo— and part of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, the subdivisions are denominated "Hoblis" instead of nâds, and in these two taluqs the greatest number of regular villages is found.

631 In the following table the divisions of Coorg are exhibited,
128 together with the area in square miles, the number of villages
131 and the seat of the Kacheri of each taluq and nâd, from which
632 statement it will be seen, that Coorg on an area of 1585
103 square miles contains 508 villages besides the towns: Mádapet (Mercara), Vírájpet, Fraserpet, Sómwárpet, Kodlipet and Ponnappet.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to be called "Ránipetta" in honour of Queen Victoria. The town, which 15 years ago was almost entirely composed of wretched thatched mud-huts, bears now, in consequence of its profitable coffee traffic and exorbitant prices permitted by free trade, the stamp of prosperity. Out of its 850 houses 281 are tiled, most of them brick built and two storied and inhabited by merchants and tradesmen. The population of 3859 souls—without the Regiment—comprises 43 different castes, but no Coorgs live in the Petta. The Petta-*Subadar's Kacheri* occupies the highest point of the town and behind it are situated the Tombs of the Coorg Rájahs (vide p. 182). Under Capt. Cole's direction Lieut. Mackenzie, the Assistant Superintendent, has greatly interested himself in the amelioration of the sanitary condition of the Petta. The streets are broad and clean; two small tanks and a number of wells and running streams supply wholesome water. Every Friday there is a market, hence Mercara is also called *Shukravára-sante* (Friday-market). In the principal street—locally the High-street—the daily requisites for food and raiment are displayed. People from Nanjarájpatna and the Mysore country bring: dry grain—such as, rági, gram, rice of the superior sorts, dál, wheat, green gram, Bengal gram—, jaggory, tamarind, potatoes, chillies, onions, garlic, turmeric, mustard, coriander, oil seeds, castor oil, sesamum oil, tobacco, betel leaves, chunam, baskets, eggs, fowl, sheep, goats, etc. Máplas from Tellicherry and Cannanore import cocoanuts, arekanuts, cocoanut oil, and dry fish; Coorgs and other ryots bring clean rice, plantains, oranges, pineapples and straw; the merchants and petty dealers spread out in their shops or in the street their merchandise: cotton, silk and woolen fabrics; potters pile up their many-shaped vessels, tailors expose their gay, ready made clothes, money-changers squat before their stores of copper coins, liquor shops attract the crowd by their gaily

632 361 [362] [162] [764] [177] [364] [312] 632 443 438 439

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

flourishing town, 20 miles from Mercara, on the Cannanore high-road and four miles from its junction at Perambádi with the Mysore road. It is a place of some importance on account of its coffee, rice and cardamom traffic with the Western Coast. The population amounts to 3024 souls, of whom 1,255 are Mussulmans, 1296 Hindus, 156 Jains and 313 Roman Catholic Christians, who settled here as fugitives from Tippu Sultan's conquered dominions. The town was established in 1792 by Dodda-Vírájender in commemoration of a meeting that took place between himself and General Abercromby during the first campaign against Mysore in 1791.

The town proved very unhealthy, but since the rigorous introduction of sanitary measures by Lieut. Mackenzie, generously supported by a Native Municipal Board, the health of the people has greatly improved. Vírájpet is prettily situated at the foot of the Maletambira hill on the top of which there is a large square-built temple. The town may be divided into the Roman Catholic quarter, the main bazaar and the Mussulman streets. Every Wednesday there is market, which attracts a great concourse of Coorgs. The merchandise is similar to that at Mercara. Of public buildings the most attractive is the renovated *Roman Catholic Church*, which Father Guillon reconstructed in simple gothic style and with a copper roof. The inside is gaudily ornamented with paintings and statues in stucco, his handywork, greatly to the taste and admiration of the natives. The *New Offices* of the Assistant Superintendent, the Taluq and Nád-Subadar's Kacheri behind the Traveller's Bangalow and above the town, promise to be an imposing and convenient structure, when completed. The *Traveller's Bangalow* surrounded by a high wall, is well situated on a knoll, which forms the highest point of the town. It was built of the material and on the site of the Rájah's palace, but without much regard to the convenience of European visitors who frequent the place. The

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when offered, do not exert themselves to retain the boon. 635
However, their wants are not overlooked, a new school will 563
shortly be re-established in Gadinád. These people, who with [177] •
the exception of the inhabitants of Surlabi-Muttunád behaved badly towards the English Government in 1837, are much under the influence of the Jangams residing in these Náds. There are two Mathas of note here, Mádapur and Abbi-matha, where the Shivácháries possess rich endowments.

The Kanavé-Hoblis are inhabited by a set of people identical with that of the adjoining Mysore ryots. They are chiefly cultivators of dry land and produce horse-gram, rági, various kinds of beans, tobacco, bangh, flax, sesamum and also cotton. The sandalwood tree grows extensively in [137]
this taluq. In Yedavanád some rice-fields which have a good [243]
water-supply yield two crops; there the wild sago-palm is [245]
also carefully attended to for the sake of the toddy drawn [273]
from it and for the farinaceous substance, prepared for food [262]
by the poorer classes from the inner part of the tree. Honey [222]
of the best quality is largely collected in June and much appreciated by the people. Near the village Beradi-kanavé there was the Back-stokade from which the northern column of the Coorg field-force was repulsed in 1834. (Bakka, *Kg.* door-way to a narrow passage.)

Frasерpet is the seat of the taluq and Nád-Kacheri of 632
Nanjarájpatna and the monsoon Head-quarters of the Superintendent. It lies 20 miles to the east from Mercara on an [361]
elevation of 3,100 feet above the sea. Situated on the left bank of the river Kávéri in a bent formed by a sudden turn of the river, opposite the Mysore frontier, with which it is [485]
connected by a fine stone bridge, and the country, though open, being dotted by rounded grass or wood-clad hillocks on which the European houses are built, Frasерpet offers a most varied and pleasing landscape, especially from the travellers' bangalow, which occupies a rocky eminence, the site

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

efficient instrument for such an operation; others less expeditious but more cruel were: throwing the criminal over the precipice near the "Rájah's Seat" or nailing him to a tree and shooting him with arrows. In such a manner the Deván Kshouri Kariappanna was tormented to death by Lingarája. Punishments short of death were: dislocating the toes and fingers, suspending the offender by the ears, pounding out his teeth, amputating his nose and lips or otherwise mutilating his person. When of a capital nature, punishments were never public and every care was taken to conceal them from the people. The Rájahs' Siddi—or African—bodyguard acted as executioners. The sufferer was proclaimed as having deserted his home and a reward offered for his apprehension. If he was a man of consequence, instructions were given to make a diligent search after the fugitive, which of course proved ineffectual, when he was declared to have eluded pursuit and escaped to some of the neighbouring countries. Artifices of this nature could not long retain the power of imposing, but the danger of mentioning the transaction secured silence regarding it.

With so primitive and simple forms of judicial procedure, the enforcement of its precepts required no complicated system of police. Every villager was a voluntary policeman and every Jamma-ryot bound to render gratuitous service to the Sirkar. The limited extent of the country and the vigilant control over all its parts, enhanced by frequent communication by means of posted runners with all the Kacheris, kept the Rájahs well informed of any unusual occurrence and enabled them to send prompt orders to the district-officials.

b. Under the British Government.

From the Proclamation of Col. Fraser in April 1834 we have already seen, that he upheld the authority of the native officials, reserving to himself, as the representative of the Governor General, the Prerogative of the Rájah.

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Governor General, the prerogative of the Rájah. On the 30th August 1834 he issued a set of "*Rules for the conduct of the District functionaries in Coorg*" from which we cite the following paragraphs as they contain the principles and routine of the English administration until lately modified by new Acts.

"Civil Justice."

Para 55. "Whereas it is necessary for the due administration of justice in the Coorg country, to introduce regularity in the system which has prevailed, and to define the judicial power of the district functionaries, the following rules have been enacted and are published for general information and guidance.

56. The custom of adjusting differences by mutual composition of the parties being highly commendable, the Sirkar will be glad, when parties settle their disputes in this manner; or by the arbitration of a referee selected from among their neighbours. If an adjustment cannot be effected by this means, they shall then have recourse to the Sirkar functionaries.

57. The Patéls are empowered to hear, try and determine on their own responsibility upon oral evidence such suits as may be preferred to them for sums of money or other personal property the amount or the value of which shall not exceed five rupees.

58. If the parties be dissatisfied with the decision of the Patéls, they may appeal to the Párapatiagárs. The jurisdiction of the Patéls is to extend to all civil suits to the amount above limited, which may arise between the parties residing within the villages.

59. The Párapatiagárs at the head of their Kacheri may hear the appeals against the decision of the Patéls. They shall try on their own responsibility causes not exceeding Rs. 50 upon recorded evidence, and all causes above that sum

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and not exceeding 100 Rs. shall be investigated through a Panchâyat which they shall convene for that purpose. The Pârapatiagârs shall take cognizance of all civil suits arising within their respective nâds. Appeals against the decision of the Pârapatiagârs lie to the Kacheri of the Subadâr.

60. In hearing and determining civil suits the Pârapatiagârs shall be assisted by the Shânabôgas in writing the proceedings of the enquiry. The Shânabôgas are to keep registers of the suits preferred to the Pârapatiagârs, each complaint being entered in the order in which it may be received and will forward them after being signed by the Pârapatiagârs to the Subadâr's Kacheri.

61. The Subadâr shall try and settle causes to the amount of Rs. 100 on his own responsibility; but in cases, where the sum in litigation may be above that sum and not exceeding Rs. 200, he shall assemble a Panchâyat and settle them. The Subadârs shall take cognizance of all suits arising within their respective taluqs.

62. In trying and determining suits, the Subadâr shall be assisted by the Sheristadars and the Gumastas in writing the proceedings of the enquiry. The Sheristadars and the Gumastas are to keep registers of the suits preferred to the Taluq-Kacheri, entering each plaint in the order in which it may be received and forwarding them monthly to the Daryâft-Kacheri.

63. A Kacheri, denominated the Daryâft-Kacheri, and composed of one of the three Devâns and the Karanika or any two of these, accordingly as they may be engaged or otherwise in their respective and more specific duties, has been established at the Huzur. It shall hear all appeals against the decision of the Subadârs and determine them. This Kacheri shall decide on its own authority causes from Rs. 200 to Rs. 1000 upon recorded evidence.

64. All causes above Rs. 1000 and not exceeding Rs. 3,000 shall be inquired into and settled by a Panchâyat which

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

692 671 177 will be convened by the Daryáft-Kacheri. The Daryáft-Kacheri assisted by a Panchâyat shall make inquiry into causes beyond Rs. 3,000 and submit the proceedings to the Huzur and carry its orders into effect.

693 671 177 65. The Daryáft-Kacheri shall be assisted by two Mutsudies of the Devân-Kacheri in writing the proceedings of the inquiries they make. The Mutsudies are to keep registers of all suits decided by the Daryáft-Kacheri and preserve in regular order the records connected with that Kacheri, distinct from that of the Devâns. The Daryáft-Kacheri shall submit for the perusal of the Huzur these registers monthly.

66. The plaintiff and defendant in a cause shall be allowed to employ their relations or agents to plead before the Párapatingárs, the Subádárs and the Daryáft-Kacheri, as also before the Panchâyats assembled by them, furnishing them with power for that purpose.

694 671 177 67. The plaints shall clearly state the name and residence of the complainant as well as of the person complained against, the grounds on which the complaint is founded, the amount of value of the property claimed and all such circumstances as may serve for the elucidation of the case.

68. The Párapatingárs or Subadárs may send peons either with a verbal message or written summons (yádást) to the defendant, directing him to appear in order to answer the complaints preferred against him.

69. The complainant shall be directed to accompany the peons entrusted with the summons, or otherwise to send relations or agents for the purpose, indicating the residence of the defendant and identifying his person.

695 671 177 70. After the defendant makes his appearance the complaint shall be read over to him and he shall be directed to give an answer to it on a day which shall be fixed, he being furnished with a copy of the complaint.

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71. On the delivery of the answer by the defendant who ought to state therein what he may have to say, a copy of it shall be sent to the plaintiff. The latter shall be required to give his reply within a prescribed time and after he delivers it, a copy of it shall be furnished to the defendant and he shall give a rejoinder. Afterwards the plaintiff and the defendant shall be directed to give in a list of the witnesses whom they wish to produce. The depositions of the witnesses shall be taken with all possible expedition and they shall be ordered to return to their homes or respective employments. The Párapatiagár or Subadár shall then decide the cause according to justice and the custom of the country. 695 671 177

72. In cases where the defendant may neglect to attend at the Kacheri on the day appointed, notwithstanding he is summoned, an enquiry shall be made whether the summons has been actually served or not. If it be proved that the summons has been served on the defendant and that he has wilfully neglected to give his attendance at the Kacheri, a notice shall be affixed at the door of his house intimating, that although he signed the summons, which had been served on him, yet he had neglected to give his appearance to answer the complaint which was preferred against him, that a time, however, of 10 days would still be allowed to him to appear before the district functionary or the Panchâyat to answer the complaint, and that, if he failed to do so, the functionary or the Panchâyat would proceed to decide the case ex parte. If he do not make his appearance to answer the complaint within the time fixed in the notice, the Panchâyat or the functionary shall examine the vouchers and decide the case ex parte. 694 671 177

73. Where Panchâyats are assembled for investigating any dispute, the parties shall be caused to give written agreements binding themselves to abide by the decision of the Panchâyat. After the award is passed, the parties shall be 695 671 177

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

695 caused to interchange Farigh khati and a Rázináma shall be
671 taken from them.

●177 74. Whenever a case is investigated by a Panchâyat, and an award is passed, if one of the parties refused to abide by it, he shall be asked to explain the reason and if he has reason to suppose, that undue means have been used to bias the Panchâyat or that the decision was partial, he shall be required to produce evidence to that effect and give a written obligation, binding himself to pay such penalty as the Sirkar may be pleased to direct, in the event of his assertions proving false. If this circumstance happens at the Kacheri of a Párapatiagár, he shall forward the proceedings together with the witnesses to prove the corruption of the Panchâyat to the Subadár, and if it should happen at the Kacheri of the latter, the Subadár shall send them to the Daryáft-Kacheri.

75. But in cases where the party, refusing to abide by the decision of the Panchâyat fails to bring forward witnesses to prove his allegation, the award shall be carried into effect.

628 76. In cases where a suit is preferred against an in-
671 dividual who is not subject to the jurisdiction of either the
177 Párapatiagár or the Subadár of the nád or taluq, where the
694 complainant is residing, the Párapatiagár or Subadár shall request by a letter the officer in authority at the place, where the defendant may be residing, to send him in order to answer the complaint, preferred against him. The same rule is applicable to cases where witnesses may be residing within another jurisdiction.

648 77. In cases where either the defendant or witnesses
671 may be residing in another country, the district-servants are
177 to report the circumstance to the Huzur, which will take
694 measures by writing to the European Officer in authority at that place, either to cause the personal attendance of such defendant or witnesses or to obtain their defence or evidence respectively in writing as may seem to him advisable.

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78. The Nád- and the Táluq-Panchâyats shall be composed of respectable inhabitants, or Chettics, or merchants. When the parties in suits are of different castes, the Párapatiagárs or Subadárs shall, if practicable, select an equal number of persons of the caste, to which each party may belong and also one or two of a caste different from that of either of the parties. The same rule shall be observed by the Daryâft-Kacheri.

79. Appeals against the decision of a Párapatiagár shall be made to the Subadár within 30 days from the date on which the award may be passed and given to the party; and those against the decision of the Subadárs shall be made to the Daryâft-Kacheri within 45 days. If after the expiration of this time the party appealing assign good and satisfactory reason for his delay, the appeal shall be admitted. Provided, however, that no appeal shall be admitted from any case decided by a Panchâyat, except on the ground of gross partiality or dishonesty on the part of the arbitrators.

80. The expense of summoning shall be paid in the first instance by the party by whom they are summoned; but the functionary or the Panchâyat shall determine, when the award is passed, by whom the expense shall be finally borne according to the merits of the case.

Criminal Justice.

81. The Gauda is authorised to reprimand or admonish an offender for stealing vegetables, or a few seers of grain, or the commission of similar trifling offences within the jurisdiction of his village. He shall seize and make over all other offenders to the Párapatiagárs.

82. The Párapatiagár shall confine for 10 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding five rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any offender charged with disobedience

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

692 of orders, or with assaulting another person, or using abusive
671 language or with stealing property of the value of 10 rupees.
177 83. The Párapatiagár may release persons accused of the
881 above offences on their finding bail.

84. All persons deserving higher punishment than what has been mentioned above, shall be sent to the Subadár by whom they shall be tried. The Subadár shall confine for 30 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding 16 rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any person accused of having stolen property of the value of from 10 to 30 rupees, or charged with disobedience of orders or with assaulting another person or using abusive language.

[694] 85. The Subadár may release persons accused of these offences on their finding bail.

86. Offenders accused of thefts not attended with violence
692 and of which the amount or value may be above thirty and
671 not exceeding one hundred rupees, or of the other offences
177 specified in para 84, but deserving a higher punishment than
[685] what is therein mentioned, shall be sent for trial to the Daryáft-Kacheri. In these cases the Daryáft-Kacheri is empowered to sentence an offender to imprisonment not exceeding two months, or to levy a fine not exceeding twenty rupees. This Kacheri may release persons on bail.

[694] 87. The Párapatiagárs and Subadárs are directed to send
[681] with the least practicable delay to the Daryáft-Kacheri all persons accused of thefts attended with violence or exceeding in amount or value thirty rupees, burglaries, highway or gang robberies, arson and murder, etc. after they are apprehended, together with their depositions.

[623] 88. The Daryáft-Kacheri assisted by the Panchayat shall make enquiries into the aforementioned cases, and in the event of their finding the fact against the accused, they shall submit their proceedings to the Commissioner (respective Superintendent since October 1834) who shall pass judgment thereon.

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89. The numbers of the Panchâyat shall in no case be less than five nor more than thirteen. The prisoner shall have the power of challenging any of the members as far as the number five, before the commencement of the enquiry, assigning reasons for the same, which shall be taken into consideration by the Daryâft-Kacheri. In the event of these reasons being deemed valid, the member who is challenged shall be removed and another substituted. The majority of the Panchâyat shall concur in the verdict, whether in civil or criminal cases, to render it valid. 692 671 177 [623]

90. Corporal punishment by the officers of Government is prohibited in every possible case throughout the whole of Coorg. [681]

91. There are three modes of passing sentence of imprisonment. One is to sentence an offender to be confined and to be put to perform hard labour on the roads. The second is to sentence the criminal to be imprisoned and be made to work in the prison; and the third is to pass sentence of imprisonment only, without labour. These three modes may be adopted by the Daryâft-Kacheri in passing sentence against offenders according to the degree of guilt proved against them. 695 671 177 697

92. The Pârapatiagâr of each Nâd shall send in monthly to the Subadâr of his taluq a register of offenders punished by him. 692 671 177

93. The Subadâr in like manner shall send a register to the Daryâft-Kacheri, which will submit to the Huzur an abstract of their registers, including the offenders punished by their own award.

94. All disputes relating to caste are to be settled by the heads of the respective castes according to the usage and custom of the country. [564]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Police.

41. The police of the taluqs is to be considered under the charge of the Subadárs, and subordinately to them, of the Párapatiagárs and Patéls.

42. The district functionaries are to give at all times their utmost care and attention to prevent disturbances, assaults, and all other acts in breach of the peace; they are to apprehend and send to the Daryáft-Kacheri any person who may be accused of having committed robbery or violence.

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43. The Patéls of the village and the villagers shall conjointly protect their villages from depredations of robbers. They shall always be on their guard and act with vigilance, so that no thefts or personal assaults may be committed.

45. If any person of a suspicious character makes his appearance in a village, the Patél shall make an enquiry about his name, place of residence and the purpose for which he has come to the village; and if the Patél be not satisfied with his answer, he shall send him to the Párapatiagár.

46. If any person in the village behaves improperly, the Patél shall persuade him to correct his conduct and give him the admonitions that may seem necessary.

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[628]

47. If any theft or robbery be committed, the Patél and the villagers shall exert themselves to apprehend the robbers. If the robbers be found in the act of robbing and if they escape, they shall be pursued and seized. The Patéls of the neighbouring villages shall co-operate in ensuring the seizure of the robbers. But if the Patéls or others do not use their endeavours either to discover or apprehend the robbers, and if the Sirkar shall have reason to believe that the robbery was committed through the negligence of the Patéls, they will incur the displeasure of the Sirkar and be punished accordingly.

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48. Whenever information is lodged of a person having

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Whenever information is lodged of a person having
died a violent death, the functionaries shall proceed to the [671]
spot where the dead body may have been found. They shall [177]
examine the body and ascertain, whether there are any marks [625]
of violence upon it, or bruises, the number of them, and with [682]
what weapons the wounds or hurts may appear to have been
given. The above inquiries shall be made in the presence
of two or three creditable persons, and being committed to
writing the proceedings shall be sent to the Daryáft-Kacheri,
afterwards the functionaries shall endeavour to trace the per-
sons who may have murdered the deceased and apprehend
them.

49. The Subadárs of the taluqs on the frontier shall be [635]
particularly vigilant in apprehending robbers and vagabonds
who may come to this district from the neighbouring countries
to commit mischief.

50. The magisterial authority of the Subadárs does not [635]
extend to the pettas, where Kotwals are employed. The police [692]
of the pettas is entrusted to the charge of the Kotwals and
they will preserve the peace there. In cases where Kotwals [625]
may require the assistance of the Subadárs or the Revenue
officers who may be near the pettas, they shall be promptly
furnished with the aid demanded.

51. In cases where any person of whatever caste may
die a natural death without having relations or friends present,
the Sirkar servants shall cause the corpse to be buried or
burned according to circumstances at an expense of from one
to three canterai fanams. But if the deceased leaves property [768]
and no relations to claim it, a sufficient portion of the pro-
perty shall be appropriated for the performance of the funeral
ceremonies, and the remainder lodged in the Public Treasury
until claimed.

52. Any person who has laboured under the disease of [766]
leprosy shall not be buried in the earth. The corpse of such
person shall be burned, or if the caste of the deceased do not

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671 177 766 admit of the corpse being burnt, it shall be caused to be thrown into a river.

671 177 429 768 53. In case where a ryot, or a chetty or a merchant die, leaving young children, whether boys or girls, the Subadár or the Párapatiagárs shall make over the property of the deceased to his nearest relations, and after the children attain their majority, the property shall be caused to be made over to them. But in defect of relations, the Gauda or the headman of the village shall be directed to take charge of the property and bring up the children. An inventary of the property shall be taken, one copy of which shall be kept by the Patél and the other entered in the Dufters. The expense attending the education, maintenance or marriage of the children, shall be deducted from the property."

648 671 Coorg being a non-regulation province, these simple rules sufficed for many years for the judicial administration of the country, wielded by the able officers, by whom Coorg had the good fortune successively to be ruled. On Col. Fraser leaving Coorg in October 1834 to be "Resident of Mysore," Capt. Le Hardy was appointed "*Superintendent of Coorg*," the first of a line of 15 Superintendents up to date and all, with the exception of two, military officers of the Madras Army. Col. Fraser transferred to Capt. Le Hardy "the civil charge and administration of the District" and when the former became Resident of Travancore and Cochin in 1836, and Col.—afterwards General Sir—Mark Cubbon C. B. succeeded him as Commissioner of the Government of the territories of His Highness the Rájah of Mysore and "*Commissioner of the affairs of Coorg*," the Superintendent's relative position remained unchanged down to the present day.

Sir Mark Cubbon, in whom India saw a noble type of the English gentleman, ruled Mysore and Coorg for a quarter of a century with great ability, vigour and judgment. Of his

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merits as a ruler, the Marquis of Dalhousie has borne a high and honorable testimony in a despatch, dated Fort William, 7th February 1856, which, however, is too long for us to quote. The administrative genius of Sir Mark Cubbon's successor, L. Bowring Esq., C. S. I., asserted itself in a different manner and shone in a peculiar light. With critical acumen and administrative skill of a high order he penetrated, analysed and reformed every branch of the existing administration and placed it on a level with the most advanced systems of modern Government in India. He left India for good in March 1870, highly esteemed and deeply regretted by the natives of Mysore and Coorg.

With the settlement of European Planters in Coorg during the last ten years the admission of pleaders into the Courts and the more elaborate and refined system of judicature consequent to the introduction into the province of the Indian Penal Code in 1861, the Criminal Procedure Code in 1862, the Indian Stamp Act in 1862, the Registration Act in 1865, the Indian Succession Act in 1865, the Criminal High Court Act in 1865, the Forest Act in 1866, and others, the establishment of a better constituted description of Courts became necessary.

Before the 1st December 1868 the Civil and Criminal Courts in Coorg were thus constituted:

The *Subaddr's Court.* Each of the six taluqs was presided over by a Subadár exercising both civil and criminal jurisdiction. In addition to these were two Petta- or Town-Subadárs—formerly called Kotwals—stationed at the two principal towns of Mercara and Virájenderpet, who were vested with the same powers as the former. The civil jurisdiction of the Subadár extended to Rs. 200, and their criminal powers were those of a Sub-Magistrate of the Second Class. These officials were assisted in their revenue, magisterial and police duties by 24 Párapatiagárs, 13 of whom had been in-

† [Errata: This should read "Ten years, the." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, P. 494 -- Analyst]

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634 vested, from time to time, according as they had been con-
635 sidered qualified and competent to exercise the same, with
692 criminal powers equivalent with those of the Subadárs, but
177 they did not exercise any civil jurisdiction.

The *Daryáft-Kacheri* was in so far modified, that it was
692 composed of a Moktasir (native judge) and four Panchâyatdárs
177 who were selected by rotation from among the most intelligent
693 of the various classes of the people and who received an allowance of a rupee a head per day for such days as the Court actually was sitting. It exercised original civil jurisdiction in suits, the value of which ranged from Rs. 200 to 3,000, and had appellate jurisdiction over the decisions passed by the Taluq-Subadárs. This institution which had a certain amount of time honored prestige amongst the Coorgs, was somewhat anomalous and exceptional in its character when compared with the system of judicature in force in the other parts of Her Majesty's territories.

In the *Assistant Superintendents' Courts*, presided over respectively by a Native and an Englishman, the former exercised the powers of a Sub-Magistrate, the latter had been vested with the full powers of a Magistrate.

In the *Superintendent's Court*, the Superintendent of Coorg exercised original jurisdiction in civil matters extending from Rs. 3000 to any amount and was the Magistrate of the District. Appeals from the decisions passed by the Daryáft-Kacheri were made to him.

648 A *Sessions Court* was established by vesting the Superin-
692 tendent of the Ashtagrám division of Mysore, with which
177 Coorg had been incorporated for a short time (Nov. 1862—July 1863) with the powers of a Sessions Judge in disposing of cases, with which, as Assistant Sessions Judge under Act XV of 1862 the Superintendent was incompetent to deal. Though this was a somewhat inconvenient arrangement, yet it pleased the Coorgs better than the annexation of their country to

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Mysore, against which measure they strongly protested, being greatly averse to any subordination to the Brahmin officials of Mysore on their immediate frontier. 692 177 [648]

The *Court of the Judicial Commissioner* was highest appellate Court, and exercised control over the judicial administration of the province in all its branches. Sentences of death passed by the Superintendent of Ashtagrám as Sessions Judge in Coorg, required the confirmation of the Judicial Commissioner. This office was first instituted in 1856 by the Supreme Government.

With the 1st December 1868 the Coorg Courts' Act XXV of 1868 came into operation. Its primary object was to settle and define the jurisdiction of the various civil and criminal functionaries in Coorg and the immediate occasion for it arose, when the two Assistants were appointed, whose powers it was necessary to determine. As a necessary consequence the Daryáft-Kacheri was abrogated, its last judge being the first Coorg pupil of the Central School in 1856, Colavanda Cariappah, now Subadár of Mercara taluq. 692 671 177

The civil jurisdiction conferred by the Act on Officers of various classes is limited as follows:

Subadárs of the 2nd class may determine suits to the value of	Rs.	100.
Subadárs of the the 1st class	„	300.
Assistant Superintendent of the 2nd class	„	1000.
Assistant Superintendent of the 1st class	„	3000.
The Superintendent of Coorg without limit.		

The Chief Commissioner may invest any Párapatiagár or Naib-Subadár with power to try certain kinds of suits for money or moveable property not exceeding in value Rs. 50. Appeals lie from the Subadárs to the Assistant Superintendents; from the Assistants to the Superintendent of Coorg; and from the Superintendent to the Judicial Commissioner. Special appeals lie from the decisions of the Superintendent

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671 692 177 and from those of the Assistants to the Judicial Commissioner; but in suits of the nature of Small Causes no special appeal is allowed for less than Rs. 300.

On the criminal side, the Act provides that for the purpose of criminal jurisdiction the Superintendent of Coorg shall be taken to be the chief Officer charged with the executive administration of a district in criminal matters. Appeals against the sentences of the Magistrates with full powers in Coorg shall lie to the Judicial Commissioner. The Sessions Judge, appointed by the Governor General, shall, as often as may be necessary for the trial of offenders, hold sessions in the province.

However flattering the notion may be, that the judicial administration of Coorg is now on a level with the most advanced stage of judicial reform in India, one cannot, on seeing the backward state of civilization of the majority of the people for whom this refined apparatus of justice is intended, help regretting the disappearance of those simple and practical institutions, adopted by General Fraser, which best suited the wants and comprehension of the natives and, in the absence of stamp duties, secured to them cheap justice! 1 A However, as the Judicial Commissioner truly remarks, "the more complicated and difficult portions of the law affect, not the "simple mountaineer" so much, as the coffee planter and the trader; and when the business of life is at all complex, almost any ascertained rules must be preferable to no rule."

697 177 Of the *Jail* it need only be said, that its locality in an airy corner within the fort walls is healthy, and if the practicable alterations and improvements were carried out, good and sufficient accommodations for the small number of convicts, averaging 70 per annum, could be afforded without going to the expense of a palatial new building outside the [692] fort as proposed. The Regimental Surgeon, in civil charge

1 A [Errata: This should read "cheap and speedy justice." See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 994 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the Jail, exercises the powers of a Magistrate over its inmates, who are superintended by a European Jailor.

The *Police*, with the exception of a small regular body of a miserable description in Mercara and Vírájenderpet, still maintains its rural character, as best adapted to the country.

According to the returns of the annual "Judicial Reports," the inhabitants of Coorg are neither remarkable[1] for their litigiousness, nor for an excess of criminality.

3. ADMINISTRATION OF REVENUE.

a. Land Revenue.

The Land Revenue constituted the chief source of the wealth of the Coorg Rájahs. It still forms the principal item in the annual income of Government. It will, therefore, be of interest to analyze the mode of assessment, peculiar to Coorg, for generations in use and still upheld by the British Government. The settlement was made in 1812,[2] by Lingarájender, who caused the Shist accounts to be preserved in a kind of Domesday-Book in which all the vargas or farms are registered with great detail and accuracy, noting also the tenure under which each varga is held.

According to this *quasi settlement in perpetuity* we have to distinguish, besides the rentfree holdings, *four different kinds of tenures of land: Jamma, Ságu, Umbali and Jódi-tenure*, an arrangement nearly allied to what is called "Shivappa Naik's Shist" i. e. an assessment fixed in the time of Shivappa Naik, a polygar of Naggara.

The *Jamma-tenure*, from the Sanscrit "janma," a word conveying the meaning of "hereditary by birth," is the holding of the privileged class, called *Jamma-ryots*, comprising: Coorgs, Amma-Coorgs, Hegadas, Eimbokalas, Airis, Koyavas, Moplas and Gaudas. The light assessment of Rs. 5 per 100 butties of wet land with its accompanying Báné and Bariké was made originally on condition of military and general

[1] [Errata: this should read "remarkable as neither". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 494 — Analyst]

[2] [Errata: This should read "in 1813." — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

eyes of the Coorg inhabitants. They are prosperous, their climate favours the evil habit and drunkenness, in its very nature, is a growing vice. Moreover since the influx of so many European settlers in Coorg, the natives have become familiar with the strongest European drinks and the liquor dealers are not slow in improving their opportunities to the ruin of the people. Beer- wine- and brandy-shops are scattered over the country.

It is hard to say how Government ought to deal with this vital Abkári-question and what measures might be adopted, to stem the torrent of vice and ruin. The old barriers, raised against the moral and physical plague of drunkenness by the laws of Hindu religion and of caste, have been broken through and cannot be repaired. The system of Government monopoly appears at first sight most objectionable; yet the abolition of it would have consequences still more deplorable. There is one panacea and one only, against this, as against every other moral evil in individuals or nations—a renovation of moral life and strength through the Gospel. All else is quackery!

4. THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS.

It was not until the year 1862, that the wants of Coorg were sufficiently recognised, to induce Government to organize a regular establishment for the execution of Public Works in Coorg. A detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed in the Province since 1834, all the needful Public Works were carried out by them and after they had been withdrawn, an European Overseer took charge of the roads etc. The present effective establishment with an Executive Engineer (R. E.) at its head wants only funds to carry out large and important works, especially an iron bridge over the Kávéri with new highroads through Southeast Coorg into Mysore and Wynád.

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8. EDUCATION.

It speaks well for the Coorgs, that no sooner were they brought under the English rule, than they expressed an anxiety for the education of their children. It was, however, in those days a difficult task for Government, efficiently to satisfy their wants. In 1834 an English and a Canarese School were established in Mercara and Vírájpet and a Canarese School only in Kiggatnád at a monthly cost of Rs. 90 for the whole educational establishment. The result was in due proportion. The Vírájpet School collapsed in 1842 and the teacher's pay was appropriated for the maintenance of five Canarese Schools. For a number of years this state of affairs continued and the annual educational Report ran thus in stereotyped fashion:—"There are (25) boys learning English and (429) learning native languages, making a total of (454) showing an increase (or decrease) of (8) boys in the English and (17) in the native schools." This was the beginning, middle and end of the educational Reports, excellent in their way, short and businesslike, entailing no waste of time in writing or reading them! They said every thing that could be said, testifying to the number of names appearing on the different school-rolls. As for learning English, there were some difficulties. The Schoolmaster could not, of course, be expected to know more, than reading and writing English as well as the copyist in the Kacheri who was better paid. After 20 years of English tuition, there was not one Coorg who could write an English letter or make a tolerable translation from Canarese into English, no one who had acquired any kind of knowledge human or divine through the medium of the English language.

The teaching of the native languages, Hindustani at Mercara, and Canarese in the districts, consisted in reading and writing of the alphabets, getting by heart of multiplica-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

871 tion tables and, when the scholars had further advanced, the reading and writing of petitions (Arjis). Education there was none, nor was it wanted. The great men in the Kacheris felt quite happy in their complete ignorance, being cunning enough to look after their own interests. What more could be required? Their only care was to keep every thing in statu quo and to oppose every thing like innovation. This, happily, is an account of the past.

871 177 797 In 1855, encouraged by Sir Mark Cubbon, Dr. Moegling, the first Protestant Missionary in Coorg, established an English School at Mercara, the charge of which was placed into the hands of the Rev. G. Richter in May 1856 and in February 1857 the Supreme Government sanctioned a liberal grant for its support. Maintaining its missionary character, the Coorg Headmen, one of whom felt in particular its christianizing influence upon his sons, at first opposed the school with all their might, but the Head-sheristadar, Nanchappa, having been reconciled to the new order of things, the School began to flourish and gain the favour of the people. Unfortunately for Coorg and the School, the Devân Nanchappa, who was a high spirited and influential leader of his people and would have done much for the advance of education, suddenly died by a fall from his horse.

871 177 On the departure of Dr. Moegling to Germany in December 1860, Mr. Richter was nominated by Government Principal of the School and with the year 1861 a new period commences in the educational affairs of Coorg.

The educational scheme, proposed by the Principal and heartily approved of by the Director of Public Instruction, the Chief Commissioner and the Supreme Government, has ever since been gradually carried out and comprises, when fully established, the following features:—an unlimited number of Vernacular district-schools, five Anglo-vernacular schools

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the Mercara Central School with boarding establishments for Coorg boys and girls. 871 177

The number of *Vernacular district-schools* was raised to 25 and the teachers, nearly all of them Coorgs, were trained by the Principal four at a time for 3 or 4 months at the Central School, which served as a Normal School. After a successful examination the teachers' former pittance of Rs. 2½ per mensem was increased to a monthly salary of Rs. 7 with the prospect of Rs. 12 p. m. after five years' satisfactory service. The remodelled Schools were placed under the control of the Principal, who under the immediate orders of the Director of Public Instruction is also Inspector of the Coorg Schools. Once in 3 or 4 months all the teachers assemble in Mercara for a conference with the Principal to give an oral report in each other's presence on the state of their work and to receive further instruction in educational topics. 872 875

The school-houses are ordinary native buildings, erected by the ryots who also keep them in good repairs and therefore no school-fees are collected from the scholars. 346 872

The lessons, taught in the Canarese language, comprise: reading of manuscript papers and of the prescribed printed prose and poetical books, the latter being a collection of extracts from the best native authors; elementary arithmetic with the current weights and measures; copy-writing and dictation, composition; a short geography and history of Coorg and of India and the map of the world. 872

It is a most pleasing feature, that nearly one-tenth of the number of pupils is made up of Coorg-girls who in their lessons advance equally with the boys and who are not unfrequently quicker in their answers.

The total number of scholars in these 25 schools amounted on the 31st March 1870 to 1158 of whom 890 were Coorgs, including 92 girls. [162]

The *Anglo-vernacular Schools*, three of which have been